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LE CANADIEN UPON THE DEFENSIVE, 1806-10*

"Y a-t-il une guerre civile dans le pays?"¹

THE intention of this paper is to provide an analysis and interpretation of the fundamental point of view of *Le Canadien*, the first professedly French-Canadian newspaper, during its earliest period of publication, 1806-10. This particular reference to a limited period of time suggests that a few chronological details may be fitting at the outset. *Le Canadien* was founded in 1806, to be published weekly from that time until 1810, when its publishers were arrested. Publication was subsequently renewed but was again interrupted in 1825. What is known as the second *Canadien* is a further revival by Etienne Parent, in a new and enlarged format, and with a motto professing the platform: *Nos institutions, notre langue et nos lois!!!* [sic]. No reference will be made in this paper to editions subsequent to 1810, as the object of the present paper is to inquire into its basic point of view under the first editorship only.

The reading of the prospectus, and of the first number, launched in 1806, reveals at least two important pointers. In the first place, the inscription on the front page, and under the title *Le Canadien* (which is quite an evocation in itself), means, presumably, that the natural wages of injustice are the falling-down of the heavens upon the place beneath: *Fiat justitia, Ruat coelum* [the comma is the writer's]. This was the motto of an injured party. In the second place, the reader can see that *Le Canadien* at the outset took up a position opposed to the commercial class and aimed at fostering political virtues in order to curb what it declared were tyrannical tendencies of the governor and his executive. Of course, it might be questioned whether such a paper as *Le Canadien* was likely to disturb Governor Craig's metabolism, to haunt Ryland's nights, and to spoil the leisure time of the ruling

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¹*Le Canadien*, I, no. 1.

class in a conquered colony. We have been told about Craig's impaired health; but no medical records apparently exist to establish a correlation between the governor's bouts of indigestion and the casual outbursts of the newspaper in its violent pleas for justice. Of the two pointers the greater in importance is the significant concept of a sense of injustice which, clearly enough, introduced a scale of values peculiar to *Le Canadien* in contrast to the attitude of the *Quebec Mercury*. The latter was patronized by the mercantile class and was reputedly devoted to the idea of doing away with French culture. *Le Canadien* began its career fundamentally opposed to the *Mercury* on both grounds.

Le Canadien has been inquired into by a few authors.² Drs. Marion and Trudel have analysed its content from the literary and philosophical standpoints; Professor Creighton in his *Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* has studied it with reference to the commercial pattern of the colony; and Professor Lower examined it with reference to the cultural and political pattern. Professor Lower has given *Le Canadien* a dignified place in the "family tree" of the Canadian parties, in his work *Colony to Nation*. While accepting those broad interpretations, this paper will argue along different lines; for, the objective is the study of *Le Canadien* with reference to the journalistic pattern of the time. In a way, it is a study of journalistic behaviour.

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Bédard and Blanchet were responsible for the publication of the prospectus, on November 13, 1806. The prospectus recognized the Constitutional Act as a blessing, and considered the liberty of the press as a privilege derived therefrom. Now the liberty of the press may be defined as the censorial power of a people under a free constitution. This definition is negative; but *Canadiens* in 1806 could scarcely do better than define it in that way. De Tocqueville himself at the close of his inquiry into democracy in America could not clearly make out the advantages of the liberty of the press; and he approved of it "more from a recollection of the evils it prevents than from a consideration of the advantages it ensures."³ In the particular instance of *Le Canadien*, which emerged in a particular time, the liberty of the

²See Séraphin Marion, *Les lettres canadiennes d'autrefois* (Ottawa, 1942), III; Marcel Trudel, *L'influence de Voltaire au Canada* (Montreal, 1945), I; D. G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850* (Toronto, 1937); A. R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (Toronto, 1946).

³Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (trans. by Henry Reeve, New York, 1900), 180.

press is advocated as a defensive weapon, and more or less as a way to retaliation. The intention defined in the prospectus may be thus summarized: The *Canadiens* are victims of the blackest insinuations on the part of a certain paper (which was the *Quebec Mercury*). They have been denied the opportunity of inserting a word of retort in it; which is a denial of the liberty of the press in this country so far as the *Canadiens* are concerned. Now this liberty ought to be recognized on both sides and to serve the *Canadiens* in the vindication of their honour and loyalty. The *Canadiens* must have their own paper in order to challenge the opposing party to produce evidence of its wrongful assertions; they must fight the prejudices which feed upon the malice of that party, "the envious party," as it is termed. Nor is this all; the free press ought to carry its influence over to England in order to rehabilitate the *Canadiens* in British opinion and to neutralize the malicious propaganda of that party. Moreover, a free newspaper would assert the right to the use of the French language in the face of the anti-*Canadiens*. And here the prospectus arrives at a sweeping conclusion. From the fact that the *Canadiens* speak French you cannot infer that they are not loyal to the King of England. You should rather look into their hearts; there is no dread for the pure of heart: *Fiat justitia, ruat coelum*. This is the motto. The name is *Le Canadien* whose honour is to be vindicated: *celui dont l'honneur est à venger*.

Le Canadien had defined itself as a *defensive* paper. Actually it was bound to go further than its prospectus announced; but perhaps it was characteristic of a type of journalism which has not yet passed away. The so-called combative paper is at once exposed to the danger of going too far and is so apt to forget the art of knowing how far to go.

It is noteworthy that *Le Canadien* took its stand on moral grounds and aimed at castigating such wrongs as are defined in the light of the science of Good and Evil.⁴ This position contributed to the widening of the gap between ethnical groups. It is clear enough, indeed, that no such cleavage existed at the beginning of *Le Canadien*'s career as there did in 1810. To what extent was journalism responsible for the widening of the gap? On the other hand, *Le Prospectus* had made it an objective to restore social equilibrium; but the problem lay in the ways and means thereto. The restoration of equilibrium was a noble objective indeed; but the problem of restoring the use of orderly language lay at the root of the matter. The effects of bad words

⁴See in particular *Le Canadien*, II, no. 5.

and of the disorderly habit of calling names are cumulative and may have profound projections into the future of a community: "the fathers have eaten a sour grape and the teeth of the children are set on edge," says the prophet. It has been said that "the virulence of the press originates in the uncertain social condition, in the political excitement, and in the general sense of consequent evil which prevails" in a country,⁵ and it may be argued that, as soon as the virtue of the press in its alleged function of restoring equilibrium has given society a fair degree of composure, the virulence of the press would die away. Experience makes this belief next to wishful thinking. Social and economic disequilibrium therefore justify the setting up of such a newspaper as *Le Canadien*; it explains its general platform and the public response to it. But it can, by no means, justify the provocative and insulting character of its articles which are not always by-products of an objective perception of the problems at issue. De Tocqueville⁶ has said about the periodical press of America that it was actuated by passions and *penchants* which perpetuated themselves independently of the circumstances in which they arose. The virulence of the press feeds upon virulent journalism and clannish-mindedness, to the point at which the intellect is flooded in an ocean of feeling. Democracy and its allied privilege of free printing does not convey the ability to write the right thing, at the right time, in the right proportion.

It is therefore questionable whether His Majesty's subjects in Canada were fittingly prepared to handle this formidable tool we term liberty of the press; or whether human beings are fit to handle it at all. Moreover, it is to be wondered whether in 1806 the economic substructure had sufficiently evolved to fit into the new political superstructure. Popular representation had to ride on the old mercantilistic horse; it had been introduced into this country to lull the French element, under the threat of republicanism, at a time when mercantilism received a new impetus consequent upon changes in the European economy.⁷ Now under those circumstances a new alignment of interests took place of which the most striking feature was the reconciliation of the merchants with the old governing class and their endeavour to lay hold of the executive, to control the legislative, and to counter-balance the influence of the *Canadiens* in the Assembly. The latter represented a régime *reputedly* rooted in the feudalism of

⁵See De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I, chap. XI, 183.

⁶*Ibid.*, chap. XI.

⁷See Creighton, *Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence*, chap. V on the rise of the new trades.

yore. The necessity of creating a political structure revived that which had lain smouldering for years. The *Quebec Mercury* took the lead in raising racial and religious questions.⁸ Such issues as the Royal Institution Act, the Gaol Act, and the like, provided a factual background occasionally referred to, when the controversy tended to become abstruse. How *Le Canadien* was to react, is the question to which we now turn.

* * *

The custom before the appearance of editorials was to make use of "letters to the editor."⁹ Both the *Quebec Mercury* and *Le Canadien* were substantially composed of such letters to the editor. Three letters which had been sent to Thomas Cary, editor of the *Mercury*, in reply to a frontal attack in the *Mercury* on the *Canadiens*, and which had been denied publication,¹⁰ appeared in the first number of *Le Canadien*, dated November 22, 1806. *Le Canadien* wondered what had become of the liberty of the press, and resolved to avail itself of it. The most striking feature of this *début* was an appeal *aux francs-tenanciers dans le Bas Canada*, because it pointed out the fundamental *malaise*. *Le Canadien* interpreted it as a clash of conceptions as to the future welfare of the country, as to what this country should be. The *Mercury* had made it a problem of races and had set the controversy in terms of *English* and *Canadien*. It is significant indeed that *Le Canadien* did not make its first appeal to race but to class; and none the less significant that the *Quebec Mercury* emphasized the identification of the party with the race. This was not accepted at first by *Le Canadien*, but the terms *Parti Canadien*, *Parti Anglais* soon became current in the literature of both *Le Canadien* and *Mercury*. When *Le Canadien* attacked the "envious party," it did not allude to the English character but to an exploiting class. But the *Mercury* replied that the *Canadiens* had a profound ignorance of the dignity of the "English character." *Le Canadien*¹¹ did not fail to wonder whence this unhappy distinction between English and *Canadiens* came, and made this assumption that such a distinction must be a discovery made by Thomas Cary, the editor of the *Mercury*, to confuse his enemies. Such an assumption expressed an implicit recognition of the fundamental issue, but actually the connexion was so close between mercantile greed and the English character on one hand,

⁸*Quebec Mercury*, II, no. 43.

⁹See Frank Luther Mutt, *American Journalism* (New York, 1941), chap. III.

¹⁰*Le Canadien*, I, no. 1.

¹¹*Ibid.*

and feudal backwardness and *Canadien* character on the other, that the issue could be dropped and the discussion reduced to more exciting terms. The dialectical apparatus could then recede and leave room for more dogmatism and sentimentalism on the part of *Le Canadien*, and for more cynicism and jingoism on the part of the *Mercury*. Each had attacked the dignity of the other's character. The situation had become complicated by the introduction of religious issues which scarcely left room for tolerance on either side. With respect to politics, the so-called greedy class had made its stronghold in the executive and the feudal class had to depend on the Legislative Assembly and to emphasize popular control of the government.

The first rumour of a proposed French paper had raised indignation amongst the mercantile leaders. Thomas Carey expressed it in the *Mercury*:

If then instead of opposing barriers plans be devised for augmenting the impetus it is time for every Briton to take the alarm. This province is already too much a French province for an English colony. To *unfrenchify* it as much as possible, if I may be allowed the phrase, should be a primary object, particularly in these times when our arch-enemy is straining every nerve to Frenchify the universe. Gladly would he exterminate every vestige of the English Language and the English name.

The reader will not be at a loss to perceive that I allude to a proposed French periodical paper. . . . [And the editor of the *Mercury* further wrote:] It has been often said and it will bear a repetition: "as the twig is bent the tree inclines." A French education will form a Frenchman, whatever may be the government he is born under. The man whose mother tongue and ordinary language is French on leaving the province goes not to England as his country but to France. He will serve France in preference to England. Nothing then can more strongly demonstrate how much depends on education. A French system is an arbitrary system because it is a military one. It becomes therefore the interest not of Englishmen only but of the universe to raise mounds against the progress of French power. . . .

Nothing can have a stronger tendency to disseminate and establish a language than periodical publications. . . . To counteract France we must be Englishmen. After forty seven years possession of Quebec it is time the province should be English.¹²

Now it should be borne in mind that this was written two weeks before the prospectus of *Le Canadien* was launched. This outburst of the *Quebec Mercury* was apt to give the antagonism a much broader pattern, that is, to include such questions as the loyalty of *les Canadiens*, their right to the use of their mother tongue in a British colony, to a French education and to Roman Catholicism. By so doing, the *Mercury* re-echoed to the existing rumour that the French newspaper to come was a Napoleonic

¹²*Quebec Mercury*, II, no. 43.

device;¹³ and by this, it focussed popular attention on what was not really the issue. Within that pattern it is easier to grasp the policy of *Le Canadien* in conducting its argument from an apologetic and moral standpoint. The French subjects of His Majesty were accused of collusion with French military forces; they were alleged to be dangerous on account of their religion and language. To this accusation they made it a point to reply that they were a new species of the French genus, as they had long taken root on this continent. In contradistinction to the English subjects of His Majesty, the newcomers, the booty-seekers of the after-conquest, they had a history to define themselves and their name was *CANADIENS*.¹⁴

One can see, therefore, why the first few numbers of *Le Canadien* contained historical dissertations. Such recollections were bound to emphasize the meaning of *Le Canadien* on the one hand, and the opposition to the English-speaking party, which was stereotyped *anti-Canadiens*, on the other. The latter group was branded as being involved in post-conquest racketeering and was reminded of its former anti-Catholic zest.¹⁵ *Le Canadien* claimed that greed had been the driving force of the newcomers, now jealous of the privileges conceded to the French by Great Britain; and that the distinction between conquerors and conquered came from them. "Les Canadiens sont des conquis, mais ce sont des conquis qui vous montreront le chemin de l'honneur." *Le Canadien* pointed out His Majesty's intention with regard to the Constitutional Act, and interpreted that Act as a provision against the tyranny of the mercantile class. This was grounded on a previous statement by the *Quebec Mercury* that there was a grievance against an excess of privileges conceded to the conquered. Accordingly, the *Mercury* had suggested, first, that those privileges, few in number but very much exploited, should be cut off; secondly, that the province should be peopled with loyalists, with a view to "anglifying" this country; thirdly, that the administrative affairs should be dealt with in English only, by English people, or English-minded people at least. The phrasing of this last sentence reminds one of the Navigation Acts.

The result on the part of *Le Canadien* was a deeply felt group-reaction which was bound to be projected into the future of the national life, and which figured as one of the sources of French-Canadian nationalism. The popular emotion was centred around the idea of defence and involved three basic elements to be pre-

¹³*Le Canadien*, II, no. 5.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, no. 2.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

served in the face of actual antagonism: heritage, language, and religion. *Le Canadien* defined himself as a British subject whose traditions tied him to the soil and whose history linked his existence with a missionary zeal of early pioneering efforts. That theme had frequent recurrences and inspired several dissertations; it constituted, as it were, the philosophical nucleus around which gravitated the emotional compound of a nascent nationalism.¹⁶ *Le Canadien* was a title of noblesse and a synonym of virtue. The body of virtues inherent in that type of noblesse had materialized in such entities as mores and ways of life: "J'espère que *Le Canadien* prêchera toujours que nous conservions nos moeurs et nos coutumes" wrote a correspondent.¹⁷ Another one suggested "la défense des moeurs et des coutumes des Canadiens" and complained about the lack of vigour shown by *Le Canadien* in its espousal of so grand a cause.¹⁸

Now, to avenge the character of *Le Canadien* which had been offended, appropriate weapons had to be used: "La vérité et la justice, voilà nos armes et nos moyens," said "un Canadien."¹⁹ Truth and justice were to baffle prejudices of the "anti-Canadiens" and refute lies told in the *Quebec Mercury*, fiat justitia, ruat coelum. To this motto was later added a French saying to make up for the obscurity of the latin motto, the theme of which was the denunciation of vice as a function of apostolic liberty.²⁰ In a following issue, that saying was substituted for a quotation from Pascal: "Etrange zèle qui s'irrite contre ceux qui accusent des fautes publiques et non pas contre ceux qui les commettent"; which questions why blame is directed against those who denounce evil and not against those who commit it.²¹ This motto was retained to figure alongside of the Latin one and for the sake of those who did not understand Latin. This theme was so much exploited that it gave *Le Canadien* a conviction of virtue and an ability to define the *Quebec Mercury* "qui répand le mensonge, et *Le Canadien* qui éclaire."²² At a certain stage *Le Canadien* could go without any dialectics of any kind, as everything contained in it was assumedly digested truth within the circle of its supporters.

It is important to note this attitude of mind to understand whither *Le Canadien* was to go. What De Tocqueville notices about the efficiency of dogmatic assertion as against argumenta-

¹⁶See in particular *ibid.*, I, nos. 1 and 2; III, nos. 2, 3, and 4.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, I, no. 51.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, no. 49.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, II, no. 42.

²⁰*Ibid.*, no. 32.

²¹*Ibid.*, no. 33.

²²*Ibid.*, III, no. 21.

tive discourse to foster fanaticism, might have Canadian implications.²³ The principle of the liberty of the press, which was reiterated in *Le Canadien*²⁴ to cap the arguments in denunciation of vice, affords a point in the case. A correspondent wrote: those who fancy that a free newspaper is no restraint upon men of perversity, no obstacle to the execution of wrong measures, do not know about this country. *Le Canadien* went further in drawing upon select quotations from the Letters of Junius²⁵ to state two cardinal points of its policy: *primo*, attacks on vices should not be launched in the abstract but should imply information as to their agents, so that the reader can make out their exact location, a necessary condition to fight the evil; *secundo*, no breach of popular privileges derived from the constitution, of whatsoever little importance, should be let slip, for any small concession could become a precedent for permanent surrender. In a later issue, *Le Canadien* commented on prejudices.²⁶ The article is pseudo-signed "Un Homme sans Préjugés"; and the writer, cleverly enough, defined prejudices according to their relationship to one's station in life, especially one's official position in public life. "Le préjugé est un train de pensée sans fondement." For example, "Damned *Canadien*" is typically prejudicial. Prejudices are varied; they vary according to one's station in life; they are either contemptible or pitiful. Are they reason-bred? Then they are contemptible. When they follow upon sheer ignorance, they are pitiful. Now this drive from a prejudiceless man was intended to boost the *Canadien* as a modest, dark, and plain-dressed individual, i.e. prejudiceless man. Is there not a close relationship between the outward look and the inward apparatus of mind? There is at least in the French word "habit" an approximation to the term "habitude."

Now, to be free from prejudices, this line of argument continued, is to be independent and therefore eligible for the Assembly, the democratic wing of the Government. Anybody that casts his ballot for the anti-democratic wing is prejudice-ridden or guilty of bribery. And that that could happen among French-speaking subjects was illustrated in a document relating to electoral mores, the author of which comments *ad rem* and

²³De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I, chap. XI.

²⁴See in particular *Le Canadien*, III, no. 52 and IV, no. 1.

²⁵*The Letters of Junius*, being the seventh volume of Bell's edition of the Constitutional Classics, a new edition, London, 1807, dedicated to the English nation. *Le Canadien* points out that the Mother Country has given due approval to the Letters.

²⁶*Le Canadien*, IV, no. 4.

argues *ad hominem*.²⁷ This provided a background for a dissertation on prejudices. Hugh Gray's *Letters from Canada*²⁸ also provided a good background of discussion about prejudices. But fundamental to all issues of that sort was the recurrent theme of class dichotomy, the root of all prejudices, the pivot of electioneering, the bogey of journalism. On one side, a peaceful group of *Canadiens*, on the other side a greedy compact of *parvenus*; on one side, the Assembly, the democratic wing of the Government, on the other side, the governor, and the executive, the bulwark of tyranny. Everything is brought to bear upon a racial differentiation: the immigration policy is a device to rob the *Canadiens* of their patrimony; the Gaol Act, through its incidence, is the roundabout way to burden the heritage of the fore-fathers, the Royal Institution is intended to anglify, to "unfrenchify," in the wording of the *Quebec Mercury*. The latter would now reply: *Le Canadien* thinks that the assembly is everything: whither their pretensions?²⁹

At times, the *Mercury* would assume an air of superiority, which is sometimes a symptom of weakness, and turn piteous towards the ignorant, tobacco-and-brandied-addicted *Canadiens*. It is therefore clear that neither *Le Canadien* nor the *Mercury* was prepared to put up with the other. Their respective attitudes are better understood when studied as a duopolistic pattern: *Le Canadien* and the *Quebec Mercury* played a game of chess, but a game without the idea of stalemate in mind.

The climax was reached when *Le Canadien* declared that the official instructions from governors and "immigrants ejusdem farinae" should be held in distrust, and suggested direct communication with London. This attitude of distrust lay deep at the bottom of suspensory measures resorted to by the governor and executive and was to shape all public activities till, at least, the Durham Report. In a way, *Le Canadien* pronounced doom on itself, and seemed to be aware of it at the end of its career. But it was about time to establish martyrs; for great causes are apt to generate both apostates and martyrs. *Le Canadien's* cause was fittingly supplied with the former but void of the latter. Pierre Bédard was to write the cover-page of a nationalist martyrology; and his often-quoted expression of serenity when in-

²⁷Laval University Library, "Le secret découvert," an electoral circular appended to *Le Canadien*, II, no. 10.

²⁸Hugh Gray, *Letters from Canada Written during a Residence in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808, Shewing the Present State of Canada* (London, 1809).

²⁹Quoted in *Le Canadien*, IV, no. 5.

formed of his release³⁰ reminds the reader of a new Daniel in a British den.

So, a sheer divergence of interests at the outset became aggravated in the turmoil of religious and political disputes expressed in injurious terms. Both jingoism and emotionalism developed along their respective paths. Jingoism grew from mercantilistic conceptions supported by an outmoded autocracy; emotionalism from feudalistic conceptions supported by a pretentious and past-minded Assembly. Both sides made use of disorderly language. Undoubtedly, the *Canadiens* were bound to be strong in the long run because, indeed, they could capitalize on the past. Man is endowed with memory; and this is an aptitude to see the present in the past, and the future in the present, to see the present as the natural outgrowth of the past, and the future as the possible prolongation of the present. Thanks to things past, we are worth this much today, was a tenet of *Le Canadien*: The past was appealed to, in order to appraise the present state of things and find wherewith to canalize popular emotions. The present is worth so much because the past has cost so much effort. Now any endeavour on the part of the *Mercury* to erase past memories, or any attempt to cook "humble pie" therewith, only served to enhance the value and dignity of the past in the eyes of the *Canadiens*. Indeed, one ought to do justice to *Le Canadien*; and justice can be done by restoring the defensive feature of its spirit which undoubtedly characterized the early nationalistic heritage of French Canada. It is hardly necessary to mention that the defensive attitude fed upon a spirit of suspicion.

Obviously the spirit of *Le Canadien* implied two basic elements, sympathy and defence—sympathy in a common conception of things gone by, and defence against those who made a point of blotting those things from memory in order to "unfrenchify." Now attachment to things gone by goes along with faith in things to come and gives the party of reaction some traits of messianism.³¹ Do not disturb the past lest you falsify the future: "Pass not beyond the ancient bounds which thy fathers have set" (Prov. xxii, 28), could have been the golden rule of the reactionary group. All discussions of *Le Canadien* about the maintenance of the old tenure, and the charges against the *Mercury's* mercantile

³⁰See in particular N. E. Dionne, *Pierre Bédard et ses fils* (Quebec, 1909), chap. VII; T. P. Bédard, *Histoire de cinquante ans, 1791-1841* (Quebec, 1869), chap. V.

³¹See the collection of newspaper articles: *Le Canada français et la Providence* by Philippe Masson (Quebec, 1875), 57. It raises something new in historiography, what one might call the "Providence-riding" approach to Canadian history.

spirit are echoes of an attachment to a set of values identified with the *ancien régime*.³² The Mercury, on the contrary, conceived of life as a commercial affair to yield returns. In contradistinction to *Le Canadien*'s assertions that "*la base de la civilisation est la propriété foncière*"³³ and that "*Le Canada s'est fait tort en voulant trop étendre son commerce*,"³⁴ the Mercury sees in commerce the common denominator of nations abroad and the cement of civic elements at home.³⁵

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The behaviour of *Le Canadien* had seasonal fluctuations. It was conditioned by that of the *Quebec Mercury*, as can be seen in the preceding study of its duopolistic pattern. This was one reason for its more or less virulent attitude of defence. Another reason must be looked for in the stratification of that group which *Le Canadien* claimed to rally in the early years of its publishing. That group could scarcely agree on what *Le Canadien* should be. Some found it dull and too moderate, after a few months' publication; for others it was headlong, headstrong, and in many respects ridiculous.³⁶ In July, 1807 *Le Canadien* published a letter to the editor in which grievances were produced against the wasted advantages of the liberty of the press under *Le Canadien*'s policy. The more we read into it, says the complainer, the more we realize that this sheet is falling off from its pristine ardour: it does not point out abuses and injustices, whereas, under a régime of liberty, the press is bound to spare nothing but religion and government. The free press must stand by virtue and denounce vice and the agents of vice even if it should shake the position of wealthy people; the free press must print the whole truth and nothing but the truth. It was even insinuated that *Le Canadien* was yielding under the pressure of vested interests. Because it had resorted to a truce for a few weeks, *Le Canadien* was charged with pacifism by the few zealots. Fanaticism could not put up with the last few peaceful issues of the Mercury and suggested that *Le Canadien* should take up the offensive. A peaceful Mercury was all the more dreadful because it was symptomatic of some underhand dealings. Moderation was no policy for *Le Canadien*.

³²See *Le Canadien* on the utility of commerce in this country, II, nos. 2, 3, and 9. The terms suggest an inspiration from Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois* (Paris, 1853), book XXV.

³³*Le Canadien*, II, no. 2.

³⁴*Ibid.*, no. 12.

³⁵See in particular the *Quebec Mercury*, II, no. 47.

³⁶See *Le Canadien*, I, nos. 36, 38, and 40.

because any quiescence on its part would have allowed the adversary to prepare new attacks. Furthermore, wrote the complainer, moderation was apt to disgust the subscribers.³⁷

On the contrary, a correspondent from Montreal³⁸ remonstrated with *Le Canadien* on its abuse of liberty: *est modus in rebus*; yet *Le Canadien* is open to people who can hardly even write decently. Another correspondent upbraided the editor with the publication of foolish rhapsodies³⁹ which he declared a rebuke for human reason and a poison for the public taste. Such disputes were common in the first year of editorship and then vanished into silence or resignation. They were characteristic of a sort of frustration resulting from a newspaper which could not meet the demand of all temperaments of the nation. But *Le Canadien* proceeded along the lines of its first tendencies, virtuous, intransigent, and altogether suspicious. It laid the foundation of a tradition drawn upon by generations and still able to shape public reactions. Even so, this maiden school of nationalism in Canada did not succeed in rallying all the people to whom resistance would pertain.

It had been pointed out in *Le Canadien*⁴⁰ that the purest intentions would incidentally look criminal, were they proffered in a clumsy wording. This was to be materialized in the subsequent literature of both *Le Canadien* and the *Mercury*. But in the meantime, a modest paper, *Le Courier de Québec*, issued twice a week from the new printing office had been launched under dignified auspices. It may well deserve, at least, a mention.

Le Courier de Québec was published for six months under the principal editorship of Jacques Labrie. Jacques Labrie had ended his classical studies in 1804 and studied medicine under the tutorship of Dr. Blanchet, the ardent promoter of *Le Canadien*. He took after his medical tutor in his profound love for his French-speaking fellow-citizens. But he disagreed on the policy to be followed. Still a student of medicine in 1806, he decided to set up a newspaper which would be representative of moderate patriots. He was seconded by two other young men and succeeded in producing *Le Courier de Québec* from Desbarat's printing office, rue Buade. Their objective was civic, as suggested by the epigram: *Gratum est quod patriae civem populoque dedisti, si facis ut patriae sit idoneus* (Juvenalis Satyra, xiv). Their objective was also combative, as there was implied an intention to baffle the

³⁷*Ibid.*, no. 24.

³⁸*Ibid.*, no. 40.

³⁹*Ibid.*, no. 37.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, no. 12.

Mercury's cheating attitude; but this was to be done by the way. The editors proposed the conception of journalism advocated by the Duke of Nivernois: a public, a legal ministry, unbiased, objective.⁴¹

The position of Labrie was made clear at the outset. He engaged himself to diffuse material of public, historical, and literary interest. His paper was to be also a medium of literary expression open to persons of some talent. It was to be written in French, in a clear and simple style, said the prospectus. It may be remarked by the way that *Le Courier* was not addicted to fiery pleas for the French language but could produce the best quality of French in the country. With regard to politics, *Le Courier* demonstrated in the first few issues that the *Canadiens* were not happier under the tutelage of French kings than they were now under English rule; that they did not wish for the despotic régime of Bonaparte. According to *Le Courier* those problems must not be discussed. *Le Courier* laughed the *Mercury* to ridicule, especially on the language issue; it blamed *Le Canadien* for giving too much heed to that idle stuff. We can, therefore, see that *Le Courier* took up a position against even *Le Canadien*, whose historical essays were considered as impertinent ways to the achievement of a noble objective. In the mind of *Le Courier* they would rather draw the curtain over a painful past in order to stick to the core of the problem, i.e. the collaboration of all citizens to maintain the priority of the British rule over this country as against any other rule. And *Le Courier* finally wondered whether there were any need for the resurrection of ancestors in the struggle for that objective. We may be inclined to think, with *Le Canadien*, that the principal editor of *Le Courier* was guilty of bribery, but the testimonial of l'abbé Auguste Gosselin⁴² does not make it permissible to doubt the sincerity of Labrie and the efficiency of his moderation. Nor is it possible to think that Labrie had been contaminated by the Voltairianism of his time, even if it be known that "l'incrédulité et l'immoralité étaient alors partout, et surtout au sommet de la société."⁴³

Let us see now what the *Mercury* had to say about *Le Courier*. On the publication of the prospectus of *Le Courier* in 1806, the *Quebec Mercury* wrote that the prospectus suggested to him (Akvitoniuthos) "a curious succession of ideas—among which the

⁴¹See the prospectus dated October 29, 1806; the first number appeared January 4, 1807.

⁴²Auguste Gosselin, *Le docteur Labrie* (Levis, 1898), 112.

⁴³The wording is from D. B. Viger quoted *ibid.*, 23.

secret machinations of our truly formidable adversary, Napoleon, composed no inconsiderable part." It was further alleged that the newspaper was conducted by men "totally foreign to gazettering"; and, wrote the complainer, "Draw from hence what inference you will; to me, *prima facie*, mystery lies enveloped, within."⁴⁴ In the following issue a correspondent of the *Mercury* asked himself what could be behind it all? "Something must be at the bottom. The present juncture requires vigilance." Thus, both the *Mercury* and *Le Canadien* made it a point to raise suspicion. Jacques Labrie attempted to stand serene in the middleway. Would he have succeeded in the long run? For journalism was only an episode in the whole of his life and journalism might have corrupted him in the long run. On his return from Europe, he settled in Montreal and, later on, at St-Eustache, and devoted his life to medicine and education.

Le Courier de Québec definitely ceased to be published at the close of the year 1808, leaving the moderate wing of patriots without medium of expression. Yet, the need for one became the greater as the political situation deteriorated and the chasm between the executive and the assembly wider. The years 1809 and 1810 were featured by circumstances of heavy cabal and intoxicating political atmosphere. *Le Canadien* became provocative and virulent, having chosen Judge de Bonne as the principal subject of reprobation and having branded him as a Free-Mason.⁴⁵ Under the circumstances, a new periodical appeared in defence of de Bonne, in March, 1810, whose title was *Le Vrai Canadien*, with a twofold motto on its front page: *Toujours fidèle au Roi, Magna est veritas, et praevalabit*. This would have changed the competitive pattern of the Quebec newspapers, had it not been for the death of *Le Canadien*. The latter, in a desperate effort, tried irony and aped the governor in a so-called proclamation to announce the conversion of infidels to true canadianism. It ended up its career in a death song tuned up to a popular ditty:

To, to, to, battez chaud, bon courage. . . .

Nous avons mis fin au tapage.

But *Le Vrai Canadien* having lost its opponent was to die a languid death within two years.

* * *

⁴⁴See the *Quebec Mercury*, II, no. 45.

⁴⁵See electoral circular, *supra*; also the document in the Laval University Collection appended to the last number of *Le Canadien*, Mar. 10, 1810.

The polemical character of *Le Canadien* was symptomatic of disequilibrium within the cultural pattern of this country. The impact of republicanism upon the colony, of which we find vestiges in the writings of *Le Canadien*,⁴⁶ hastened the concession of a type of representation ill-fitted to the economic substructure supported by European mercantilism. The representatives of the people proved to be unwilling to keep pace with the sanguine prospects of the commercial class, whose strength was being greatly increased by the continental blockade.⁴⁷ A decadent autocracy was made instrumental to mercantilism in its alliance with premature democracy. Antagonism ensued. *Le Canadien*, in fact, gave an antiquated definition of the Assembly;⁴⁸ and that class-prejudiced conception accrued on the reluctance of traders to accept the incidence of taxation.

The habitants considered themselves as the builders of a civilization, the settlers of a first occupancy; whereas the traders were considered as invaders. Determination on the part of the latter stiffened the attitude of the former, retarded their evolution towards a more progressive conception of life, and tightened the anchorage to their tenets. Now the stiffer the reaction, the more radical the commercial party. This situation was to beget a duopolistic scheme of journalism. Then journalism found wherewith to write. But by so writing, it did nothing but deepen the antagonism. The deeper the antagonism became, the more ammunition came to hand, and the task of journalism became easier. This is perhaps a character inherent to journalism, that it has to create a *duopolistic pattern* in order to facilitate the task of producing material. This is especially inherent in daily journalism. We all know that the coming editorial page awaits the journalist at the door. The pressure of the craft may therefore keep the journalist on the watch for something either to refute or defend, so that the paper may eventually become a bogey-fostering device.

But there is one more aspect to the question. The journalist may be in particular cases a wretched instrument in the hands of both his patrons and subscribers; he may be bound to obey the

⁴⁶For example, compare the apologies for the liberty of the press with outstanding paragraphs of the *Lettre adressée aux habitants de la province de Québec de la part du Congrès Général* (Philadelphia, 1774).

⁴⁷There is some trace of objectivity in Camillus's pamphlet (1810): *An Inquiry into Evils of General Suffrage and Frequent Elections in Lower Canada*. The writer notes: "The most inflexible opposition to all modern improvements . . . lest the Canadian Character should be lost" (8).

⁴⁸See *Le Canadien*, II, no. 25.

subscribers in so far as the patron himself has to do so. This latter aspect may have been particularly true at a time when journalism was largely composed of "letters to the editor." This feature has been evident throughout the examination of *Le Canadien*.

So, it seems that once a newspaper has chosen a platform it has become somewhat of a martyr to it. Such combative and extremist articles as have been reviewed would become more interesting if we were to look into the circumstances in which their writers were called upon to write them. We suspect that *Le Canadien* found in the *Mercury* very good subjects to write against: and *vice versa*.

But the influence of the press in this country was none the less formidable. It certainly emphasized and nurtured divergent trends which the Canadian people have tended to follow. Its impact has been of tremendous importance on the make-up of later movements.

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THE HABITANT'S STANDARD OF LIVING ON THE SEIGNEURIE DES MILLE ISLES, 1820-50*

THE cessation of the Napoleonic Wars and the rapid growth of the Industrial Revolution which had taken place during that struggle, brought trouble to English agriculture. Despite corn laws and other efforts to protect the farmer, the twenty years after Napoleon's overthrow saw increasing distress among the English farming classes and particularly among the agricultural labourers. Enclosure was being completed with the gradual ejection of the crofters and cotters from their land; and at the same time industrialization was taking from the agriculturalist his by-industries of spinning and weaving. As Ernle has put it: "starvation stared the agricultural worker in the face." By force of circumstances, the small farmer who wished to remain a farmer, had to look abroad to the new countries, if he hoped to live in anything approaching security and comfort.¹

One of the promising areas of that time was Canada; and it was made to look even more desirable by the propaganda which was being put forth to attract colonists. Typical examples of the literature which was produced are the two volumes of William Evans, a farmer living near Montreal. From a fund of experience and considerable common sense, Evans wrote to instruct Canadian farmers, and also to persuade the displaced farmers of Britain to move to the new land. While making clear the difficulties and trials of settlement, Evans at the same time held forth the great hope of independence and security for which so many in the Old Country were then searching. "A farmer possessed of 100 arpents of improved land, of even middling quality, must cultivate and manage it in a very imperfect manner, if, under ordinary circumstances, he cannot add to his capital, in one year out of two or three, either in stock, improvements or in money. Comparing, therefore, the relative circumstances of the farmers here, and in England, even as regards capital, they have decidedly the advantage here, if they will only improve and profit by their favourable circumstances. . . . Large fortunes are not to be

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¹Lord Ernle, *English Farming, Past and Present* (London, 1923, 4th ed.), 324-5; W. H. R. Curtler, *A Short History of English Agriculture* (Oxford, 1909), 262-7; J. H. Clapham, *Economic History of Modern Britain* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1926), I, 115 ff.

acquired by farming here, or indeed in any other country, at present. The industrious farmer, however, may have the necessities and conveniences of life in abundance, and occasionally accumulate something for the enjoyment of labour."² In this way he proclaimed the Canada of his day as the land of plenty.

Now while undoubtedly Evans is giving as rosy a view of the situation as possible in order to influence others to try their fortunes in the new land, there remains the question: Actually was the standard of living of the average habitant of the period 1820-50 so much higher than that of the English agriculturalist? In trying to answer this question, it is well nigh hopeless to attempt to rely upon indices of cost of living, wages, etc., as the farmer of that day cannot really be brought under such categories. For one thing a good many of them had little dependence upon monetary income of any kind, and their "cost of living" could hardly be estimated. What is more we do not have adequate figures to make any real study, even of agricultural wages. We can, however, attempt to form some idea of the standard of living in a comparatively restricted area. This article, therefore, will endeavour to give some indication of how the habitant lived during the years following the Napoleonic Wars in the Seigneurie des Mille Isles.

A word should, perhaps, be said about the sources on which the study is based. It has been impossible to use secondary sources as they do not exist. Instead, as a glance at the foot-notes will show, most of the material has been drawn either from family papers or notarial documents, principally the latter. Under old French law most documents to be valid in court, have to be notarized and of all these the notary must keep copies. On the notary's death the notarial *greffe* or collection of documents is deposited at the court house of the judicial district. Because of this, most of the *greffes* of the many notaries of the Seigneurie des Mille Isles are deposited at St. Jérôme, County Terrebonne, in the prothonotary's office. These documents deal with nearly every aspect of human activity on the seigniorie from marriage contracts to land grants, and from army enlistment to house painting. They form an important and almost untouched supply of historical material which must be thoroughly studied before a valid social history of Quebec can be written.

Although the Seigneurie des Mille Isles had been granted as

²W. Evans, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Agriculture in Canada* (Montreal, 1835), 44.

early as 1689, settlement was hardly well under way before the British Conquest. It was thus one of the seigniories which was late in developing; a fact which can be partially explained by its geographical location. It lay north of Montreal, directly across the Rivière Mille Isles from the Seigneurie Ile Jesus, held by the Seminaire at Quebec. By 1800 the original grant had been divided into two seigniories, Rivière du Chêne and Blainville, which were in turn subdivided amongst a number of owners. Originally measuring three by four *lieues*, the size of the fief was doubled by an augmentation granted in 1752. Owing, however, to difficulties with the Sulpicians, seigneurs of Deux Montagnes, the extension was of peculiar form running far up into the Laurentians, reaching the borders of what is now the township of Morin Heights.³ Because of its situation and form, the seigniorie never grew quickly until the eighteen-thirties and forties. Only after Ile Jesus was fairly well settled did people begin to move into Mille Isles, and it was only after the more fertile lowlands were taken up that the mountain slopes fell prey to the settler's axe. Consequently, throughout the whole period down to 1850, the seigniorie was on a frontier. Old settled lands and pioneer lands could be found in the same general area. For this reason Mille Isles gives us a rather good picture of the general standard of living of the period.

If we follow the example of an incoming settler, we find that the first part of the seigniorie to which we come is the "old settlement." In the opinion of Evans, the newcomer to Canada would be very well advised to purchase, if he had the capital, a farm in a section such as this, which was already cleared and in operation. While its land might be partially exhausted, a good farmer could easily restore fertility. Moreover, he would not have the heart-breaking problem of clearing land, putting up buildings, and living on the edge of disaster for a number of years. At the same time Evans warns against purchasing a small farm, originally a part of a larger grant. The original holdings were usually 3 by 20 arpents, but owing to the French system of subdividing inheritances, the farms soon began to decrease in size, until many were unprofitable.⁴ For this reason a newcomer had to be on his guard lest he be led astray when putting his hard-earned capital into an established farm.

³P.-G. Roy, *Inventaire des concessions en Fief et Seigneurie conservées aux Archives de la Province de Québec* (Beauceville, 1928), III, 226, 273, 279, 280. Public Archives of Canada, Series S, vol. Seigneuries, p. 17.

⁴Evans, *Theory and Practice of Agriculture*, 133-5.

Leasing a farm does not seem to have been very popular. In looking over the census returns for 1831 and 1841, we find that in typical farming communities of the seigniority such as Petit Brulé and St. Augustin, there were very few tenant farmers. The reason for this was undoubtedly the availability of cheap land. There were, however, a few rented farms. In 1822 in one of the earliest parts of the seigniority, a farm was being rented for \$36.00 Spanish a year. Twenty-five years later in St. Janvier, one of the areas settled late, a farm was bringing in £7 10s. per annum, but any improvements made by the tenant during his tenure would not be subject to compensation nor could he remove them. The tenant, in this case the *curé* of the parish, was to keep the farm in condition "*comme doit faire un bon père de famille.*" Other leases were much more exacting and costly.⁵ Consequently renting of farms seems to have been relatively unusual, although by no means unknown. Where such leaseholds did exist, they tended to centre in the older and more fully occupied areas.

The most common manner of obtaining land was by means of seigniorial grant. Unless a grant had reverted to the seigneur owing to the censitaire's failure to meet his obligations, the only land available for this purpose was new and uncleared. The habitant receiving such a grant usually obtained a lot 3 by 20 or 30 arpents, in standing timber. His first obligation was to clear part of the land for a house and small field. If he could do this himself, so much the better, but Evans felt that hiring someone to do the clearing was more economical for those unused to such work, as it cost only about \$10.00 to \$12.00 (£2 10s. to £3 currency) per arpent. When the land had been cleared, the stumps still remained and these had to be left until rotten enough to pull out. Usually the trees cut down were rolled into piles and burned, the ashes being collected and boiled down into potash. If enough potash were obtained, it was possible by its sale to pay for the clearing of the land. By this process, however, the land was impoverished through having the available potassium removed. Consequently it was frequently thought unwise to so weaken the fertility of the property. Because of these difficulties, the newcomers, particularly those who were not used to life in the bush, were usually advised against starting on new grants.⁶ But when, like the poverty-stricken Irish immigrants who came into the

⁵Prothonotary's Archives, St. Jérôme, Greffe, de Bellefeuille, Feb. 15, 1804; Greffe, P. F. Thibault, Apr. 25, 1822; Greffe, F. E. Globensky, May 23, 1821, Oct. 13, 1821, Mar. 23, 1837; Greffe, A. B. Lavallée, Oct. 12, 1846; Greffe, Seguin, Apr. 6, 1849.

⁶Evans, *Theory and Practice of Agriculture*, 132.

seignior during the late eighteen-forties, the newcomer had little capital with which to commence, nothing but new land, and that of low quality, was available. Consequently during most of the period 1820-50 the most usual method of obtaining land was that of seigniorial grant.

The first big problem which faced anyone moving into the seignior, was naturally that of housing, for this is always one of the dominant factors in the question of the standard of living.⁷ In the "old settled areas," from 1800 on the houses were increasingly built of stone. As one surveys the census records over a period, it is significant that each ten years new lines of stone buildings were appearing farther and farther back in the seignior. According to a contract for the building of one stone house in 1825, the size would be about 35 by 32 feet, with a height above the ground of 18 feet. This house had only one storey, with a cellar below in which there was a stone partition to carry the main floor. There were three chimneys, one double and one single, while the fireplace was made of cut stone, the rest of the building being field stone. The whole cost of labour was 410 *lis.* (\$80.00). Besides this, the stone had to be provided and brought to the place of building.⁸ Usually the house was lined with inch boards, or was plastered, making a very warm building. The stone house was very durable, and with those who could afford to build one, very popular.

There were many, however, who did not have the necessary capital and for these, other building materials were always at hand. When settlers moved into a new uncleared area, the first building was a log cabin. Such cabins were usually relatively small, roofed with rough cut shingles, and the chinks between the logs filled with clay. These dwellings were usually altered as soon as possible. The plan seems to have been to cover the logs with boards, thus making what was frequently called "a log house." Evans advises that the dimensions should be 24 feet by 18 or 20 feet, the walls plastered inside, covered outside with boards, and the roof made of cedar or spruce shingles. He also recommends the building of two stone chimneys. The total cost of such a house could not have been \$100. The log houses, however, were not always so large and stone chimneys not always common. A wooden chimney lined with clay was a cheap but effective substi-

⁷*Ibid.*, 134 ff.; cf. Archives, Petit Seminaire, Ste. Thérèse, Morris Papers, F. Salade, N.P., July 29, 1842.

⁸Archives, St. Jérôme, Greffe, J. J. Leclair, June 3, 1825; Greffe, P. F. Thibault, Aug. 10, 1816.

tute. Quite frequently a cellar was dug beneath the house and a foundation of stone and earth built to give the house a warm floor. Many of these log houses are still standing and in use. They have been covered with clapboards, being indistinguishable from frame houses until some alterations are attempted. For this reason, at the present time, log houses appear generally in all parts of the seigniorie.

If one had enough money to build something a little more elaborate, he could always erect a frame building. Frequently these were larger than those built of logs, although many continued to be, like the log house, of only one storey, or at the most of one and a half. The New England clapboard does not seem to have been in common use, the frame building usually being covered with inch boards nailed vertically on the frame and the joints covered with laths in the style known as "board and batten." The roofs were shingled, and, as in nearly all types of houses, the eaves came out some distance beyond the walls to form a watershed and to carry the sliding snow and ice well away from the windows. This type of house seems to have been most commonly in use in the more settled areas, particularly in the villages of the seigniorie.⁹

The size of the farms differed somewhat throughout the seigniorie. By 1820 the holdings in the older area had become smaller owing to subdivision on succession. The average size was apparently around 60 acres. Farther north, on the other hand, where land was cheaper and competition less, a 250-acre farm was not unknown. The larger properties were, however, usually of a much inferior type. Instead of the clay of the older region, the soil was light, sandy, stony, and easily exhausted. Because of this, a 60 or 70-acre farm in the lowlands was worth 250 acres in the highlands at any time. What is more, before 1850 the amount of clearing actually completed in the back lands of the seigniorie was relatively small, less than one-quarter being under cultivation of any sort, while in the older area anything up to three-quarters would be the proportion in use.¹⁰

When we turn to the produce of the seigniorie we find the same type of division between the older and newer lands. In the older

⁹Evans, *Theory and Practice of Agriculture*, 137-8, 143; Public Archives of Canada, Census, Canada East, 1851, County Deux Montagnes, St. Eustache Village, County Terrebonne, Ste. Thérèse de Blainville; Archives, St. Jérôme, Greffe, A. Chatellier, Oct. 28, 1792; Greffe, L. E. Globensky, Nov. 3, 1832; Feb. 27, 1832; Greffe, A. B. Lavallée, Feb. 2, 1846.

¹⁰Census, Canada East, County Deux Montagnes, St. Eustache, Petit Brulé, Township of the Gore, County Terrebonne, Ste. Thérèse, 1821-1851.

lands close to the Rivière Mille Isles, while barley, oats, and potatoes continued to be the staple crops, wheat gradually increased in production. In the mountain area, however, even by 1850 wheat was relatively scarce, potatoes, oats, and barley being predominant. The same difference was also noticeable in the matter of animals. In the older areas ten cows and three or four horses as well as a pair of oxen and a few sheep were common on each farm. In the new lands, on the other hand, three or four cows were about the most any farmer had, while horses and oxen were even fewer in number. In one concession settled by Irish immigrants in 1847 and 1848, there was only one team of oxen, which served the whole community. But as conditions improved, so the produce and the animals improved in quantity and quality. Yet the mountain lands, from their very nature could never equal the lowlands in productivity.¹¹

The question now arises as to the habitants' income. In this connexion it should be pointed out that actual money was none too common in the seigniori. While all transactions took place at monetary values, when we investigate them closely we usually discover that the real basis of business was barter. In the older lands the farmer himself still produced most, although not all, of the goods which he consumed, while in the new lands he was almost entirely limited to the results of his own efforts or those of some local artisan such as the blacksmith. Yet the farmer did also have certain side-lines by which he could make money. The most important of these was the sale of potash for which the price varied between 3*d.* and 5*d.* per pound. In the older areas wheat was also a source of revenue with an ever increasing price during the period. In 1820 it stood at 4*s.* 6*d.* per minot, by 1835 it had risen to 6*s.* 3*d.*, and after 1840 it varied between 7*s.* and 8*s.* 6*d.* One of the reasons for this increase was the large number of breweries and distilleries being established by the incoming Scottish settlers. It was further helped by the growth of villages such as St. Eustache and Ste. Thérèse, whose inhabitants were increasingly dependent upon the surrounding areas for foodstuffs. Besides these two main sources of money income, there was the sale of wool, as demonstrated by the increasing number of carding mills, and also the sale of furs and lumber which came mainly from the less civilized hinterland.¹² Thus the farmer did have some sources from which he could obtain ready cash.

¹¹*Ibid.*; Evans, *Theory and Practice of Agriculture*, 156 ff.

¹²*Ibid.*, 131 ff.; W. Evans, *Supplementary Volume to the Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Agriculture* (Montreal, 1836), Price List, Montreal, 1836; Census, Canada

When we turn to the question of the habitant's expenditures, we find that they were not very great. Owing to the size of the average family, there was no great tendency to hire help; while the seven or eight children were young, the habitant could not afford it, and when they had grown up he did not need it. This is seen quite clearly when we turn to the census figures. In the parish of Ste. Thérèse in 1831, with a population of 2,703 souls and 225 families, there were 121 servants, most of them women, probably in the village. Ten years later in St. Eustache parish, with a population of 3,195 there were about 130 servants, one of them being a negress. In the same year, farther north in the parish of St. Augustin, there were 322 families with 119 servants. Wages usually stood at 20s. to 35s. per month, with board and lodging, so it is quite easy to see why more labourers were not employed. They were beyond the financial capacity of most of the farmers.¹³

Expenses which the habitant might have to incur regularly would be the purchase of clothing and farm equipment. We do find, however, that domestic cloth and flannel were both produced in considerable quantities, English cloth cost about 50 per cent more in Montreal than it did in England, and in Mille Isles it would sell for an even higher price. Consequently it is not surprising to find that in both the older and the newer lands the making of cloth and flannel continued right down to the end of our period. In 1842 the production of fulled cloth in Ste Thérèse parish stood at 307 yards, while ten years later it had risen to 2,005; flannel increased from 702 yards to 2,296; and cotton weaving had grown from 657 yards to 1,935. The newer lands did not show nearly such good production figures, but in 1851 the most northwestern area of the seigniory produced 1,000 yards of cloth and 1,000 yards of flannel. With regard to farm tools, there seems to have been a general tendency for the farmer to make them himself, if he could, but if not, he obtained them from some local merchant. Ploughs usually cost about £4, fanning machines and hay carts stood at £5, while horse-shoeing cost about 3s. 6d. per set.¹⁴ Thus there was a certain amount of expense which the

E., County Deux Montagnes, St. Augustin, St. Eustache, parish and village, 1831-51; County Terrebonne, St. Thérèse, Rivière du Nord, 1831; Archives, St. Jérôme, Greffe, F. E. Globensky, Apr. 7, 9, Oct. 31, Dec. 19, 1821; Greffe, J. A. Berthelot, June 16, 1818; Morris Papers, Account of D. Hamel, Apr. 2, 1840.

¹³Census, Canada E., County Deux Montagnes, St. Augustin, St. Eustache, Petit Brulé, County Terrebonne, St. Thérèse; Archives, St. Jérôme, Greffe, de Bellefeuille, Dec. 23, 1814.

¹⁴Census, Canada E., cf. n. 13; Evans, *Theory and Practice of Agriculture*, 143 ff., Price List.

habitant could not escape, and which not infrequently weighed him down, hindering the development of his farm.

Inside the habitant's house, there must have been a modicum of comfort from the information supplied by various inventories. The kitchen seems to have been fairly well equipped, with an iron stove and the necessary pots and pans. Although pewter seems to have been in use it was not very common. Earthenware plates and cups were most common for general use. In the bed-rooms there were usually beds with straw ticks and feather mattresses, and apparently a sufficient supply of sheets and blankets. Every inventory of household goods gives also a long list of chairs, bouffets, and tables—folding and rigid. Of course, every home had its own variations in equipment, and naturally those in more primitive areas had fewer of the comforts of life.¹⁵

With regard to clothes, most of the articles like the rest of the habitant's possessions were homemade. Woollen homespun seems to have been the main clothing for the male members of the household, although the women still had a little finery to gladden their hearts. A marriage contract of 1818 gives a sufficient list of a bride's trousseau to indicate what the well-dressed woman wore. The items were as follows: seven shirts, two corsets with an under petticoat, one embroidered dress, one bathrobe, three petticoats, one cotton petticoat, one dress, three small mantles, four kerchiefs, six hoods, one shawl, one cloak, two pairs of stockings, one serge cloak with hood, one hat, and one trunk. There were other articles also, such as a bull with a white face. An inventory of 1824 gives an even more complete list. Most noticeable was the fact that the lady of the house had fourteen pairs of woollen and three pairs of cotton stockings, fourteen shirts of "toile du pays" and "toile fine" as well as much other equipment.¹⁶ From this we can see that the habitant was not too badly supplied when it came to clothing. We must remember, however, that as one travelled farther back into the hinterland of the seignior, so the clothing would become less ornate and less varied. Nevertheless, it would seem to be true, that the average habitant of the eighteen-twenties and thirties was on the whole relatively well-dressed.

But what about food? On this subject we are given a considerable amount of information, usually contained in donations of

¹⁵Archives of William Morris, Ste. Thérèse, Lavallée, N.P., Aug. 9, 1824, July 5, 1840; Morris Papers, Greffe, Chatellier, Nov. 3, 1816; Greffe, L. J. Leclair, Mar. 15, July 30, 1824; Greffe, J. O. Bastien, July 11, 1838.

¹⁶Archives of William Morris, Aug. 9, 1824; Archives St. Jérôme, Greffe, J. A. Berthelot, Jan. 14, 1819.

property when a pension was attached to the land for the donor's lifetime. From what is said in these documents, it can easily be seen that the basis of the habitant's food was grain—wheat, oats, or barley. Six to ten minots of wheat were regarded as the average quantity consumed per annum. Peas were also commonly used. The main source of meat was pork. For two middle aged people, one fat pig of 150 pounds was regarded as sufficient meat for the year, although sometimes they might also use a certain amount of beef. Butter and cheese do not seem to have been much in use, although milk was consumed in considerable quantities. Potatoes were also popular, particularly in the Irish settlements. On the whole, one gathers that the general type of food consumed was much better than that eaten by the English farmer of the time. Yet again we must remind ourselves that in the more backward areas of the seigniorie barley bread, salt pork, and potatoes with a little milk formed the staple diet.

With regard to beverages, the habitant seems to have dealt mainly in the alcoholic variety. This is not surprising with the seigniorie's numerous distilleries and breweries; but it is also important to note that "bon rum" seems to have been the most popular type of liquid refreshment. Three to six gallons of the latter was regarded as an adequate winter's supply, the average price varying between 3s. and 4s. per gallon. The only non-alcoholic drink mentioned is tea. About one pound a year was considered sufficient for two people, so there was little danger of the habitant contracting tannin poisoning. The price of tea varied between 1s. 8d. and 5s. 6d. a pound. As tea was priced so high it is easy to understand the wide-spread establishment of distilleries.

Besides food, the habitant had other things which were necessary to a comfortable existence. For illuminating his house he used about six pounds of candles per year. Soap was also used in considerable quantities. Besides that which he made for himself, he also purchased "savon Anglais" to the extent of six pounds per year. Turning from cleanliness, among both men and women we find that smoking and the taking of snuff were common. In a donation of 1824, the widow of Alexandre Maillé of Côte du Pays Fin was to receive as part of her annual pension twelve pounds of smoking tobacco and six pounds of snuff.¹⁷ Sugar was also in use although it more frequently came from the maple tree than from

¹⁷Cf. n. 15; W. S. Reid, "An Early French-Canadian Pension Agreement" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXVII, no. 3, Sept., 1946, 291-4). Evans, *Theory and Practice of Agriculture*, Price List.

sugar cane. Produced in quantities maple sugar enabled the habitant to indulge his taste for sweet things. In the parish of St. Eustache, the sugar production in 1842 stood at 9,713 pounds, and by 1851 the annual production had increased another 3,000 pounds.¹⁸ From this it would seem plain that the habitant did not lack some semi-luxuries.

In the matter of communications, one who is used to the modern speed of locomotion is sometimes astonished at the amount and the rapidity of travel in the early days. As the various concessions of the seigniorie were opened up, roads were built and usually maintained under the supervision of the parish authorities. On such roads as these it was only natural that the horse should be the chief means of locomotion. Horse-back riding was common, but various vehicles were also used for carrying passengers. In the back-country where the bush was still very dense, it was customary to take two poles for shafts, the butts being left to drag on the ground. Across these two poles boards were nailed, and a bag of oats placed on them for a cushion. In this way one could move over the mere trails more easily than in a wheeled vehicle. A further help to travel, particularly in the direction of Montreal, were the two bridges established, one at St. Eustache and the other from the seigniorie across to Ste. Rose further down the Rivière Mille Isles. The St. Eustache bridge, commenced some time around 1827 and completed about 1830, was shortly afterwards swept away by ice and spring floods.¹⁹ From what we know of the habitant, it is clear that he travelled, and that quite extensively.

While so far we have given a rather pleasant picture of a relatively comfortable group of habitants, the obverse of the medallion is to be found in the problem of debt. As one goes through the notarial *greffes* of the period he cannot but be impressed with the large numbers of promissory notes or obligations contained in these documents. From the earliest days of the seigniorie there are records of the debts of the habitants to merchants, first in Ste. Rose, and then, as St. Eustache and Ste. Thérèse grew in size, to the commercial class of those municipalities. Not infrequently the debts were first contracted for the purchase of equipment, seed, and the like. During the eighteen-forties, however, there

¹⁸Census, Canada E., County Deux Montagnes, St. Augustin, Petit Brulé, Parish St. Eustache; County Terrebonne, Ste. Thérèse, 1842, 1851; cf. Clapham, *Economic History*, I, 118 ff; F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor* (London, 1797), III, 15.

¹⁹Evans, *Theory and Practice of Agriculture*, 19; Public Archives of Canada, Series S., Roads and Bridges, 1839; Archives St. Jérôme, Greffe, P. F. Thibault, Aug. 20, 1816, July 29, 1822; Greffe, F. E. Globensky, Oct. 9, 1821.

was a growing number of loans of cash. While in a number of cases the creditors were merchants, increasingly they were professional men. Dr. J. B. T. Dorion, F. E. Globensky, M.P., and others were by 1850 the seignior's money lenders. Usually they were able to carry on their activity because of a reserve of funds on hand. Dr. Dorion loaned money out of the estate of his father, Charles Dorion the merchant; while Globensky, drawing on his own reserves as well as upon the seigniorial estate of Dumont of which he was administrator, was able to set up a large loan business. The latter's practice was frequently that of lending a sum, say 1,500 *lis*, of which 1,000 *lis* were to be repaid in cash, while the other 500 *lis* were to be turned into a life pension upon which the debtor was to pay a regular sum every year for the duration of the life of either Globensky and his wife, or Virginie Dumont, depending upon whose money was involved. Such practices as these tended to saddle the habitant with a continual burden of debt—debt which could not be removed. By 1850, a great many of the habitants must have been in the clutches of such local loan sharks.²⁰

Another phase of this matter of indebtedness was that relating to seigniorial dues. Besides having to pay the *cens et rentes* every year, the habitant was faced with the requirement that on transfer of land, the purchaser had to pay *lods et ventes* which amounted to about one-twelfth of the purchase price. In this way there was a continual drain upon the habitant's resources. While the *cens et rentes* were at first comparatively small, as the nineteenth century grew older, they tended to increase. For this reason we find the habitant falling behind in his payments. Not infrequently inclosed in copies of deeds of sale which have passed into the seigneur's hands, there is a notation to the effect that *cens et rentes* have not been paid for seven, eight, or ten years. What is more, we find the seigneurs turning over the collection of these back *rentes* to merchants who were prepared to take the matter to court, and if necessary to have the habitant sold out. Debt was a very real burden to the habitant of the period, and one cannot but wonder if this did not have something to do with the violence of the rebellion in St. Eustache in 1837.²¹

Consequently, the habitant's existence was not one of unclouded sunshine. He was faced with the problem of either clearing his land, or attempting to revive it. At the same time,

²⁰Archives St. Jérôme, these loans occur most frequently in the *greffes* of A. Châtellier, J. A. Berthelot, F. E. Globensky, and Stephen MacKay.

²¹*Ibid.*

usually possessor of little in the way of ready money, he had to work mainly on the basis of credit, which in turn tended to bind him economically. He was also faced with seigniorial dues, and perhaps on top of all that, a life pension payable to some past owner of the farm. As a result, the habitant's life was by no means the care-free, happy-go-lucky existence which some might think.

Yet while we take all these facts into consideration, there is little doubt that he was moderately comfortable. He did have enough land to produce a livelihood. In addition, if he were careful and hard-working there was a good chance that he would be able to keep clear of debt and build for himself a decent standard of living. At the same time, he was relatively sure that he was not going to be suddenly removed from his land and forced to seek his living in a dingy, dirty, drab factory city. His life had its disadvantages and its problems, but certainly they were not of the overpowering type known to the Old Country farmer.

Because of this, it is not surprising that during the whole period under consideration, there was a continual influx of settlers from the British Isles into the Seigneurie des Mille Isles. Scots came in through Ste. Rose, St. Eustache, and Ste. Thérèse. While many of them settled in the villages as merchants, some became brewers or distillers, and many others established themselves as farmers. The Irish, on the other hand, seem to have entered mainly by way of Carillon, Lachute, St. Columban, and Ste. Scholastique in the Seigneurie de Deux Montagnes. Unlike the Scots who usually took up cleared farms, the Irish settled back in the hilly woodlands where their descendants are today. During the eighteen-thirties and early forties the Scots were the most common English-speaking settlers, but with the potato famine in 1845 and the disease resulting from it, the Irish flocked in in large numbers. They were virtually the last group to settle the seigniory and expanded it to its uttermost boundaries.

While this article has been specifically limited to one seigniory, there is no intention of implying that the Seigneurie des Mille Isles was in any way exceptional. Conditions in this one area were common all over the province. Taking such a limited area and examining it in detail we can easily see why Canada exercised such an enormous fascination upon the crofters, cotters, and small farmers of Britain. We can also agree, perhaps, with some reservations, with William Evans, when he claimed that Canada of a century ago was the real haven for the small farming class being displaced by the English Industrial Revolution.

McGill University.

W. STANFORD REID

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its twentieth annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's imperial and external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography, and a selection of historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from a large number of universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. We shall be very grateful to have mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

Theses for the Doctor's Degree

- DANIEL A. BATES, A.B. McMaster 1913; M.A. Chicago 1928. Some outcomes of religious and moral instruction in the Montreal Protestant schools. *New York.*
- HARRY BERNSTEIN, A.B. Columbia 1933; A.M. 1934; Ph.D. 1945. Origins of inter-American interest, 1700-1812. *Columbia.*
- G. A. BISHOP, B.A. New Brunswick 1941; M.A. Toronto 1946. Studies in treasury control and banking policy with special reference to Canada. *Toronto.*
- JEAN R. BURNET, B.A. Toronto 1942; M.A. 1943. An investigation of the Alberta rural community as an aspect of the social background of the social credit movement. *Chicago.*
- GORDON L. BURTON, B.A. Alberta 1937; M.A. 1940. Economic elements of a price policy for Canadian agriculture. *Iowa State.*
- JAMES M. S. CARELESS, B.A. Toronto 1940; A.M. Harvard 1941. George Brown and the *Toronto Globe*. *Harvard.*
- GERALD M. CRAIG, B.A. Toronto 1939; M.A. Brown 1940; Ph.D. Minnesota 1947. The American background and self-government in Upper Canada. *Minnesota.*
- ARTHUR CHEEVER CRESSEY, Jr., A.B. Tufts 1944; A.M. Fletcher School 1945. Canadian-American relations, 1939-1945. *Fletcher School.*
- W. Z. ESTEY, A.B. Saskatchewan 1940; LL.B. 1942; LL.M. Harvard 1946. The administrative control of railway transportation in the United States and Canada. *Harvard.*
- ESTHER FRUMHARTZ, B.A. Toronto 1937; M.A. 1938. Political aspects of the Canadian tariff, 1867-1911. *Toronto.*
- LILLIAN F. GATES, B.A. British Columbia 1924; A.M. Clark 1926; A.M. Radcliffe 1930. Canadian land policy, 1837-1867. *Radcliffe.*
- MRS. SHIRLEY SAUL GORDON, B.A. Toronto 1920; M.A. 1936. Canadian public opinion on the Dominion's external relations. *Toronto.*
- E. C. GOULD, B.A. Toronto 1933; M.A. 1934. The Canadian and Maritime approach to Confederation: A study in contrasts. *Toronto.*
- W. R. GRAHAM, B.A. Manitoba 1941; M.A. Toronto 1945. Sir Richard Cartwright. *Toronto.*
- ANGELA A. HANNAN, B.A. Toronto 1923; M.A. 1925. David Mills. *Toronto.*
- NORAH L. HUGHES, B.A. British Columbia 1932; M.A. 1934; Ph.D. Chicago 1945. A history of the development of ministerial education in Canada from its inception until 1925 in those churches which were tributary to the United Church of Canada in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime provinces of Canada. *Chicago.*

- OSCAR H. IBELE, A.B. Ohio University 1941; Ph.D. Ohio State University 1946. Geographic influences and political problems in Newfoundland. *Ohio State*.
- DUNNING IDLE, A.B. Michigan 1925; A.M. 1926; Ph.D. Illinois 1946. The post of the St. Joseph River during the French régime 1679-1761. *Illinois*.
- W. E. IRELAND, B.A. British Columbia 1933; M.A. Toronto 1935. British Columbia and British-American union. *Toronto*.
- ROBERT W. JAMES, B. Com. Toronto 1938; M.A. 1939. Canada's wartime economic co-operation with the United Kingdom and the United States. *Chicago*.
- H. P. B. JENKINS, B.A. Acadia 1927; A.B. Chicago 1930. An economic appraisal of colonial expansion. *Chicago*.
- RUTH B. KISTLER, A.B. Elmira College 1926; M.A. Middlebury College 1937. Religion, education, and language as factors in French Canadian cultural survival. *New York*.
- A. D. LOCKHART, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. Macdonald and the policy of the Conservative party. *Toronto*.
- R. C. McIVOR, B.A. Western Ontario 1937; A.M. Chicago 1939. Monetary expansion in Canadian war finance, 1939-45. *Chicago*.
- F. P. T. MACKINNON, B.A. McGill 1941; M.A. Toronto 1942. The government of Prince Edward Island. *Toronto*.
- K. W. K. McNAUGHT, B.A. Toronto 1941; M.A. 1947. J. S. Woodsworth. *Toronto*.
- O. W. MAIN, B.A. McMaster 1938; M.A. Toronto 1945. The steel industry of Canada. *Toronto*.
- W. E. MANN, B.A. Toronto 1942; M.A. 1943. Social conditions underlying the growth of religious sects in Calgary, Alberta. *Toronto*.
- SOLOMON MILNER, A.B. Alberta 1936; A.M. 1938. Governmental control of radio broadcasting in Canada. *Minnesota*.
- DONALD A. MITTON, B.A. Acadia 1944. The Orange Order in Canadian politics. *Minnesota*.
- NORMAN PENLINGTON, A.B. Toronto 1933; M.A. 1937; Ph.D. California 1946. Anglo-Canadian relations and the Boer War. *California*.
- H. C. PENTLAND, B.A. Manitoba 1940; M.A. Oregon 1943. History of labour in Canada to 1867. *Toronto*.
- W. H. POOLE, A.B. Alberta 1932; A.M. 1934. The supply and control of money in Canada. *Chicago*.
- ALLANA G. REID, B.A. McGill 1943; M.A. 1945. The importance of the city of Quebec under the French régime. *McGill*.
- WILLIAM A. RITCHIE, B.S. Rochester 1936; M.S. 1938; Ph.D. Columbia 1944. The pre-Iroquoian occupations of New York State. *Columbia*.
- G. B. ROBERTSON, A.B. Dalhousie 1938; LL.B. 1940; LL.M. Harvard 1946. Torts in the conflict of laws: An analysis of decisions in Canadian cases. *Harvard*.
- JOHN LEWIS ROBINSON, B.A. Western Ontario 1940; M.A. Syracuse 1942; Ph.D. Clark 1946. The Canadian Eastern Arctic: A geographic study. *Clark*.
- WILLIAM K. ROLPH, B.A. Toronto 1940; A.M. Brown 1941. Henry Wise Wood and the development of the agrarian movement in Western Canada, 1915-1932. *Brown*.
- PAUL F. SHARP, B.A. Phillips 1939; Ph.D. Minnesota 1947. The agrarian revolt in Western Canada: A comparative study showing American parallels. *Minnesota*.
- ALICE ROSE STEWART, B.A. Maine 1937; A.M. Radcliffe 1938; Ph.D. 1946. Imperial policy of Sir John A. MacDonald, first prime minister of Canada. *Radcliffe*.
- M. A. K. TAREEN, B.A. Punjab 1940; M.A. 1944. Comparative studies of industrial relations in Canada and India. *Toronto*.
- STANLEY TAYLOR, B.A. Toronto 1932; M.A. 1938. The persistence of the Puritan tradition in Toronto. *Toronto*.
- LEWIS G. THOMAS, B.A. Alberta 1934; M.A. 1935. Political and economic history of Alberta, 1905-1921. *Harvard*.
- F. J. TURNER, B.Com. Toronto 1943; M.A. 1946. Some economic problems in the history of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission. *Toronto*.
- HOWARD VERNON, B.A. Chicago 1937; M.A. 1940. French Canadians in the French Revolution. *Chicago*.
- GLADYS A. WIGGIN, B.Sc. Minnesota 1929; M.A. 1939; Ph.D. Maryland 1947. A history of elementary and secondary schools in Saskatchewan. *Maryland*.

Theses for the Master's Degree

- ARTHUR JULIAN ANDREW, M.A. Dalhousie 1947. The external policies of Sir Robert Borden. *Dalhousie*.
- ELIZABETH ARTHUR, B.A. Toronto 1942. Adam Mabane and the French party. *McGill*.
- BARBARA MARION BAYLIS, B.S. State Technical College, Mansfield, Pa. 1936; A.M. Columbia 1944. The emotional attitude of some prominent Americans towards the English connection, 1774-1776. *Columbia*.
- CECIL BIRCH, B.A. Western Ontario 1945; M.A. Toronto 1946. Studies relating to industrial fluctuations in Canada. *Toronto*.
- ALLAN GEORGE BOGUE, B.A. Western Ontario 1943; M.A. 1946. Ontario agriculture between 1880 and 1890 with special reference to Southwestern Ontario. *Western Ontario*.
- ROBERT ARTHUR BRADFORD, B.A. Queen's 1941. Some aspects of the depression of 1873 in Canada. *Western Ontario*.
- D. A. BRISTOW, B.A. Toronto 1940. Agrarian interest in Ontario politics. *Toronto*.
- E. J. BROWER, B.A. Toronto 1940. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board. *Toronto*.
- ROBERT WENDELL CAMM, B.A. Western Ontario 1942; M.A. 1947. History of the Great Western Railway (of Canada). *Western Ontario*.
- ROBERT MILLS CLARK, B. Com. British Columbia 1941; B.A. 1942; A.M. Harvard 1944. Some aspects of the development of personal income tax in the provinces and municipalities of Canada up to 1930. *Harvard*.
- H. CLINCH, B.A. Toronto 1943. The province of Ontario and the election of 1887. *McGill*.
- JOANNE LOEWE COATES, A.B. Bryn Mawr 1942; M.A. 1947. The Pro Boers in England, 1895-1901. *Bryn Mawr*.
- P. E. COHEN, B.A. Toronto 1946. The change from small to large scale production in Canada 1888-1914. *Toronto*.
- CORINNE LOUELLA COMSTOCK, A.B. Maine 1941; A.M. Columbia 1944. Benthamite thinking on England's colonial empire. *Columbia*.
- P. G. CORNELL, B.A. Toronto 1940. The 'Clear Grits' in the Legislative Assembly 1850-64. *Toronto*.
- R. COX, B.A. McGill 1946. The Quebec provincial election of 1886. *McGill*.
- J. E. CRUICKSHANK, B.A. Toronto 1935. The 'Clear Grit' party. *Toronto*.
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- GOLDY DARVIN, A.B. Hunter 1942; A.M. Columbia 1946. The economic status of farmers in New York during the American Revolution. *Columbia*.
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- N. L. FERGUSON, B.A. Dalhousie 1933; LL.B. 1937. Collective bargaining and order in council P.C. 1003. *McGill*.
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- JOHN L. FIELD, B.A. Queen's 1942; M.A. 1947. The honourable John H. Dunn (1794-1854): A Canadian receiver general. *Queen's*.
- H. C. FRICK, B.A. Queen's 1945. Money and prices in Canada, 1914-1920. *Queen's*.
- JOHN GARNER, B.A. Toronto 1942. Dominion franchise since 1867. *Toronto*.
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- R. GILMOUR, B.A. Vermont 1945. The causes for English colonisation in America. *McGill*.
- HUGO HANSER, Master of Public Administration 1946. Canadian administrative law. *New York*.
- MARION HARRIOTT, B.A. Manitoba 1939. Thomas Greenway. *Toronto*.
- EVELYN L. K. HARRIS, A.B. Hunter 1944; A.M. Columbia 1946. The restriction of immigration between the United States and Canada, 1927-1945. *Columbia*.
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- ROBERT YOUTAT MOFFAT, B.A. Northwest Nazarene College 1941; M.A. Washington 1947. Urban and rural voting in British Columbia, 1906-1930. *Washington*.
- WALLULAH OCKLEBERRY, S.B. Illinois Institute of Technology 1944; A.M. Chicago 1946. A comparative study of methods of selecting professional public personnel for the public services of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. *Chicago*.
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- DOROTHY ELIZABETH PETTES, A.B. California 1936; A.M. Chicago 1946. Grants-in-aid to British Columbia and Washington for old age pensions. *Chicago*.
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- A. A. PORTER, B.A. Toronto 1946. Collective bargaining in the Canadian steel industry. *Toronto*.
- R. G. PRODRICK, B.A. Toronto 1942. Commodity imports from the United States (1850-1939) related to Canadian commercial policy and industrial development. *Toronto*.
- MARGARET V. RAY, B.A. Toronto 1922. Sudeten settlement in western Canada. *Toronto*.
- W. B. READY, B.A. Wales 1939; Dip. Ed. Oxon. 1946. The Manitoba school question, 1897-1916. *Manitoba*.
- G. G. RIDDELL, B.A. New Zealand 1941. The imperial conferences as an instrument of Commonwealth cooperation. *Toronto*.
- B. DEY ROBERTSON, B.A. Toronto 1941. Introduction to a newspaper Hansard of Upper Canada, 1836-1840. *Toronto*.
- R. W. ROSS, B. Com. Alberta; M.A. 1947. Trade and financial relations between Canada and the Netherlands. *Alberta*.
- DONALD C. ROWAT, B.A. Toronto 1943; A.M. Columbia 1946. Organized leadership in democracy. *Columbia*.
- RITA RUBIN, A.B. Brooklyn College 1944; A.M. Columbia 1946. The St. Lawrence Project and its effect on foreign trade. *Columbia*.
- RUSSELL F. SAMS, B.A. Queen's 1945; M.A. 1947. The congressional attitude towards Canada during the 1860's. *Queen's*.
- N. A. SISCO, B.A. Toronto 1943. The *Christian Guardian* in the 1830's and 1840's. *Toronto*.
- KENNETH B. SMITH, B.A. McMaster 1935. American influences on Upper Canadian reformers. *Queen's*.
- PAMELA E. SMITH, B.A. Toronto 1941. Henri Bourassa. *Toronto*.

- W. H. SMITH, B.A. Manitoba 1947. The military history of the Canadian Northwest, 1870-85. *Manitoba*.
- R. A. SPENCER, B.A. McGill 1941; M.A. Toronto 1947. Fifteenth Canadian Field Regiment-Royal Canadian Artillery, 1941-1945. *Toronto*.
- R. B. SPLANE, B.A. McMaster 1940. The Reform party in Upper Canada, 1867-78. *Toronto*.
- FRANCIS GRAHAM STEVENS, B.A. Western Ontario 1947. History of radical political movements in Essex County, Ontario, from 1918. *Western Ontario*.
- ROBERT CHRISTOPHER STEVENS, B.A. Western Ontario 1947. A regional study of Kent County with special attention to industrial development in the period 1854-1946. *Western Ontario*.
- I. ANETTA STEWART, B.A. Toronto 1944; M.A. 1947. Robert Graham Dunlop: A Huron County Anti-Compact Constitutionalist. *Toronto*.
- A. P. STINSON, B.A. Toronto 1942. The effect of war upon provincial-federal relations, 1914-18. *Toronto*.
- DORA E. WATTIE, B.A. Toronto 1927. The early history of Cobourg, Ontario. *Toronto*.
- R. W. WHITTON, B.A. Toronto 1946. Some aspects of the Canadian press. *Toronto*.
- CHARLES CONRAD WRIGHT, A.B. Harvard 1937; A.M. 1942. Arminianism in Massachusetts, 1735-1780. *Harvard*.

REVIEW ARTICLE

CANADA AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS*

THE past year has witnessed the publication of a number of books on the British Commonwealth, or on particular areas within it, that are certain to be of enduring value. Several volumes published in Great Britain, concerned mainly with development in the African dependencies, have unfortunately not been available. It is, however, a welcome sign of the return to more normal conditions that the work of Australian scholars published in their homeland is now beginning to reach this country. Between them Australia and India provide the subject-matter of the greater number of volumes received during the year. Apart from Great Britain itself, the war has probably brought greater change in the position of these two countries than in that of any other part of the Empire; and many of the problems discussed in these volumes are of immediate and practical interest, not only to the peoples of India and Australia, but to all who are concerned with the maintenance of peace, and with the restoration of political and economic conditions under which men can live with some hope of security and some prospect of social betterment.

The most outstanding book of the year on any aspect of Commonwealth development is Professor Brady's *Democracy in the Dominions*. Within the limits which the author has set himself, it is about as thorough and illuminating a study of the subject as could well be imagined; and the limits are not by any means narrow. Its publication occurs almost exactly a century after the establishment of responsible government in the British colonies of North America; and whether or not that was the intention, there could be no more fitting memorial of that event than this scholarly survey of the manner in which the principles implicit in the idea of responsible government have been applied and developed in the four great dominions of the modern Commonwealth.

Their advance from the simple forms of colonial dependency to the highly complex systems of political and social democracy under which they now live has followed a comparatively uniform pattern. There have of course been significant differences in the experience of these communities, and in the social and political ideas born of that experience. But they have been, as Dr. Brady points out, "responsive in all cases to the basic and interacting influences of physical environment and cultural inheritance"; and his purpose has been to explain the interplay of these influences, and to analyse and appraise the living democracies that have resulted from the process. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are the countries chosen for examination. The fifth dominion, if Eire can be so regarded, has been omitted, since the history of self-government there has run a very different course. The omission is significant. Among the environmental factors which have aided in this process, not the least important has been remoteness from the centre of authority, and the consequent indifference to, or inability to control the political life of these communities.

That is not to under-estimate the importance of their cultural and political inheritance, or of the constitutional links with Great Britain that have remained. The orderly political development of these communities, here contrasted with the

*This is the eighteenth annual review article published by the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW on this subject. For the bibliography of this article see page 298. The REVIEW also publishes in each issue a list of recent publications on Canada's relations within the Empire. See page 340.

turbulent history of democracy in so many other countries, has been due in no small measure to the influence of English liberal thought; and Dr. Brady places some emphasis on the strongly ethical character of that tradition. To the "ethics of liberal democracy," present in varying degrees in all the dominions, he attributes certain features of political life which they share with Great Britain; their "tolerance of diversity," their freedom from doctrinaire ideologies, their readiness to accept compromise, and their desire to "achieve ends by voluntary assent." They began with a "democracy of fact," created by the conditions of settlement, and permeated by the mental traits of the pioneer. These conditions, which have in some measure persisted in all the dominions, provided a peculiarly favourable environment for the growth of liberal ideas. In particular, they have given a strong impetus to that spirit of egalitarianism, in which the peoples of some of the dominions take a special pride, and which was long regarded by such liberals as Lord Acton as differing from, and in some measure inimical to liberty.

The core of the book consists of four separate sections dealing with the history, the institutions, and the social and economic policies of the four dominions. The historical introductions are necessarily brief, but they serve to explain the conditions which have determined the form of parliamentary institutions adopted in each case. In none of the dominions has the essence of parliamentary government been sacrificed. In all it has, in the process of transplanting, undergone more or less significant mutation. In New Zealand it has conformed most nearly to the original pattern. In South Africa, where the tradition of the Voortrekker Republics is still a potent force, and where racial conflict is more bitter than elsewhere in the dominions, it operates least satisfactorily. In Canada and Australia it has been adapted with considerable success to two different forms of federalism.

The many passages comparing and contrasting these two types of federalism are among the best and most interesting parts of the book. In each case federalism was adopted as the only practicable form of government under existing conditions. Dr. Brady describes it as "a form of democratic organization for a land of vast spaces, of diverse natural resources, and of regional groups whose interests often collided." In each case the system of parliamentary and cabinet government was chosen in preference to the congressional system and the so-called separation of powers adopted in the American constitution. The two were, however, very different in structure and to some extent in purpose. Those features of American federalism which were considered undesirable by the representatives of the Canadian provinces in 1867 were regarded by the Australians a generation later as of the very essence of federalism. The tradition of independence was strong in all the Australian states; and their representatives were reluctant to confer upon the federation "any power which was not absolutely necessary for carrying out its functions." The Canadian system they regarded as not a true federation at all. Yet the later history of the two has been curiously similar. In each case the social and economic pressures created by an expanding industrial society have led to a steady increase of the powers of the federal government, over the protests, vigorous but often unavailing, of the subordinate parts.

The high standard of objective scholarship which characterizes this book is nowhere more evident than in the analysis of Australian collectivism and the various forms of social control adopted in New Zealand. In neither case do these socialist experiments seem to have been greatly influenced by any form of socialist theory. Collectivism has been in both countries an empirical growth, an extension of political democracy, determined, not by theory, but by the practical needs of

these two societies. Respecting the development in Australia, Dr. Brady observes that it 'has come from an effort of the community to master the geographic environment, and from the peculiar socio-economic drives in Australia's history.' New Zealand's advance towards political democracy was more rapid than that in any other part of the Commonwealth. By the end of the nineteenth century the process was completed, and democracy was extended, naturally and logically as it appeared to most New Zealanders, into the field of economic control and social service. Dr. Brady's evidence goes far to support the view of a New Zealand writer whose work is here listed, that this system of social control has been developed, not in a spirit of radicalism, nor in accord with any theory of socialism, but with the practical view of making the basic capitalist economy operate more efficiently and for the benefit of a greater number of people. Collectivism in Australia and social democracy in New Zealand have not brought the millenium in either country. But they have enabled the peoples of these countries to cope with many difficulties arising out of their physical environment more successfully than would otherwise have been possible; and they are in any case wholly in accord with the spirit of democracy as it is here understood.

In South Africa the task of building a democratic society has been immeasurably more difficult; and nothing in this book is more impressive than the manner in which Dr. Brady has unravelled the tangled skein of Boer and British history at the Cape, and has set down in clear and simple terms the difficulties that have beset them, the shifts and compromises by which those difficulties have been evaded or but partially settled, and the immense problems that must still be solved if a genuine democracy is to be established with any hope of survival. The simple fact that the rights and privileges of free government are limited to the people of European extraction, numbering not more than one-third of the total population, gives to democracy here a character very different from that in any of the other dominions. Added to this is the intense and bitter rivalry between the two groups who make up the European population. That rivalry, as Dr. Brady points out, enters much more deeply into the public life of the Union than does the rivalry of English and French in Canada; and although some distinguished Boer leaders, Mr. Smuts foremost among them, have done much to allay passions, to unite the two peoples, and to retain to South Africa the benefits of free association with the other nations of the Commonwealth, the cleavage remains, and is likely to remain as one of the principal obstacles to a healthy growth of genuine democracy.

It sinks into insignificance, however, by comparison with the problem created by the presence of a large majority of native Africans within the boundaries of the Union. Dr. Brady gives an interesting account of the methods that have been adopted to extend education among the natives, to improve their modes of agriculture, and to provide them with rudimentary organs of political association. These are no doubt useful measures, but they are at best mere palliatives; and no basic solution has yet been envisaged which offers any hope of removing, or even of appreciably diminishing the atmosphere of tension which this situation creates throughout the Union. Complete segregation is impossible, since native labour is required in almost every economic activity in the country; and segregation would probably not in any case provide a real solution. There is perhaps some hope of the more enlightened attitude being adopted even by the Boers, whose stand on this question in the past has been blindly intransigent. But unless a major solution is discovered, and that within a reasonable time, the future of South Africa offers no very pleasant prospect. Democracy in all the dominions is faced

with serious problems. Nowhere are those problems of such magnitude and complexity as in South Africa; and there is little in the political, the social, or the economic life of the country to suggest that they will admit of a quick and easy solution.

In a concluding chapter Dr. Brady compares the achievement of these four communities and suggests numerous comparisons and contrasts between the types of democracy which they have evolved. No part of the book merits closer study than this thoughtful and realistic appraisal. Democracy, as it is here interpreted, means something more than a form of government that can be relied upon under normal conditions to secure to the individual certain traditional rights and privileges. It is a way of life, reflected as much in the mental attitudes of the peoples of the dominions, and in the political and social conventions by which they live, as in the institutions which they have created. In the dominions, as in Great Britain, parliamentary government has produced the leaders who were required; and the peoples of the dominions have had the wisdom to rely upon this tried and tested method. They have profited by the advice and assistance of many English statesmen; but they have on occasions been wiser than their mentors. Dr. Brady recalls Lord Durham's plan for Anglicizing the French Canadians, and rightly observes that it was through the common sense of Baldwin, Hincks, and Lafontaine that that fantastic design was dropped and the energies of the Canadian people directed into more useful and more constructive channels.

A final section is given to a survey of some of the dangers and difficulties which confront democracy in the dominions and elsewhere at the present time. Apart from external danger, probably the most serious is to be found in the ever-increasing authority of government, necessitated by the conditions of modern industrial society, and in the tendency to draw into the ambit of the state so many of those activities which, among English-speaking people, have hitherto remained within the province of society. With that goes the attendant evil of an overgrown bureaucracy and the danger that regulation and regimentation may sap the spirit that is essential to a living democracy. These are real dangers. If they are to be averted something more than the passive attitude that is all too prevalent in this country and in the other dominions will be required. In none of the dominions has democracy been achieved without struggle and sacrifice. In none can it be preserved without vigilance, understanding and persevering effort. To say that Dr. Brady's work will contribute to an understanding of the question is to say less than the book merits. Not many books have been written in our generation which contain so much that it is important for every citizen of the Commonwealth to understand. In not many have the results of careful research and mature scholarship been presented in a more interesting and readable form. For the serious student there is an excellent bibliography, listing the more important works on almost every aspect of life in these dominions. The book is well printed and bound, and the author and the University of Toronto Press are to be congratulated on its production.

This account of the evolution of democracy and the adaptation of parliamentary institutions to the needs of the overseas dominions is, on the whole, a record of notable achievement. Miss Carter's volume on the *British Commonwealth and International Security* deals with a field of public action in which the work of dominion statesmen has been less successful. The period covered extends from the Peace Conference of 1919 to the outbreak of the Second World War; and the book includes, in addition to a brief analysis of successive phases of British policy, a

detailed examination of the policies of the Irish Free State and the overseas dominions, and a good deal of interesting evidence on currents of opinion which influenced the policy of the dominions in the many crises which make up the international history of these years. It is probably the most comprehensive study of the subject that has yet been made, and its publication comes at an opportune moment. The events of the past two years have made it plain that the task of building an international organization that can and will maintain peace and some measure of security will not be any easier in this new post-war era than in the years following the Treaty of Versailles; and the record of what was attempted during those years of futility and failure may be of some service to those who must now begin the task anew.

Miss Carter's work is in the main a straightforward chronological narrative, opening with the discussion of the peace treaties and the Covenant of the League, and continuing with each successive episode until the final breakdown in 1939. Her material has been drawn from official reports of League proceedings, from the press and recorded parliamentary debates in all the countries of the Commonwealth, and from a considerable number of memoirs and biographies. She has in addition made use of most of the important books on the subject published during the past quarter century. Apart from chapter headings, there is no clearly indicated division of subject-matter; but the book does in fact fall into two natural divisions. In the first, which corresponds almost exactly with the decade of the nineteen-twenties, British and dominion statesmen played their parts, more or less effectively, in an international organization which still had some prospect of success. As the record is here unfolded, it is evident that the prospect was never very bright; but the League of Nations, the disarmament agreements, the Locarno treaties, and the Briand-Kellogg pact did at least offer some hope that further conflict might be avoided and an effective form of security eventually worked out. In the second period, which opens with the Japanese attack on Manchuria in 1931, that prospect faded. In the face of world-wide depression and the scarcely concealed ambitions of some of the great states, the instruments of security which had been evolved in the preceding decade proved unavailing; and the nations of the Commonwealth, in company with many others, drifted to the catastrophe which they seemed powerless to avert.

In neither of these periods is the record of dominion statesmen very impressive. All were sincerely anxious to further the cause of peace and international co-operation. All were eager for membership in the League, and more than a little gratified at the recognition of the new status of the dominions which such recognition implied. But their divergent interests were soon apparent. An early illustration, fully and clearly analysed by Miss Carter, concerned the disposition to be made of conquered enemy territory. The determined efforts of the South African, Australian, and New Zealand delegations to secure direct annexation of such territories adjacent to their borders was, in the circumstances, understandable. They were probably right in their assertion that it was not for the purpose of exploitation or aggrandizement, but for their own safety, that they made the demand. But it was not easily distinguishable, at least by those outside the Commonwealth, from the type of imperialism so roundly condemned in others; and it was, as Miss Carter observes, not a very hopeful beginning for a world settlement based on an international organization that was to eliminate conquest and aggrandizement. Sir Robert Borden, representing a country which had no direct interest in any such territory, aided in effecting a compromise. But the

persistent stand of the Australian Prime Minister against the arguments and pleadings of President Wilson eventually secured a type of mandate which he frankly interpreted as a species of disguised annexation. This was one of the first, but it was not to be the last occasion on which the members of the Commonwealth found themselves in open disagreement on major questions of policy affecting the whole structure of security. Indeed, there is hardly an important episode recorded in this volume on which this same divergence did not appear; and it can scarcely be doubted that it gravely weakened the forces of peace and international order, and jeopardized the security which all so eagerly desired.

On most of these incidents Miss Carter adds little to what has already been written. The most interesting and probably the most valuable parts of her book are those which deal with public opinion in the several dominions and with the social and political conditions which determined the policy of each dominion, or which, as was too often the case, prevented the formulation of any coherent policy. The effects of inter-racial division in Canada and South Africa are illustrated in many passages; and in the later chapters, dealing with events in the nineteen-thirties, there is much interesting evidence showing the effect of fear upon the policy of the dominions. Thus, a considerable section of opinion in Australia actually welcomed the Japanese attack on China in the belief that the diversion of energies in this direction would remove or lessen the threat in the South Pacific; and throughout this whole sorry business opinion wavered on the question of whether it was more desirable and expedient to oppose or to placate the war lords in Tokyo. On later occasions too, the fear of antagonizing aggressors and of becoming involved in war had an all but paralysing effect; and Miss Carter remarks upon the curious paradox that the fear of precipitating conflict prevented the united and decisive action which might have averted the danger which all feared.

Miss Carter seldom ventures on any criticism, and when she does it is in moderate and restrained terms. Her mastery of the detail of this subject is evident, and her work has the merit of attacking the question from the point of view that needs to be emphasized. But the utility of the book may be impaired by certain features which might have been eliminated. Many of the chapters are too long, and no effort has been made to divide them into convenient sections, or to indicate the variety of subject-matter which they contain. The writing is often unnecessarily involved, and the clarity of the narrative is sometimes obscured by undue preoccupation with minutiae and by a want of precision in relating detail to the central theme. That is the more regrettable since this is a book which should be widely read. It deals with a subject which has more than academic interest.

The speeches of the Right Honourable H. V. Evatt, published under the title, *Australia in World Affairs*, provide material for an interesting comparison between the policies now being advocated and those that have been examined in Miss Carter's volume. The comparison is encouraging. Dr. Evatt has been described as an internationalist, convinced "that Australia's security can be guaranteed only by an extension of her external commitments and the establishment of a world order on firm foundations." That judgment is fully supported by these speeches. They represent about as sane and practical an attitude towards the problem of security and world organization as will be found in any of the voluminous utterances on the subject with which the world has been flooded in the past two years. No doubt Mr. Hughes, when battling against President Wilson and stoutly asserting his independence against Mr. Lloyd George over the question of the Pacific Islands

in 1919, would have regarded himself as an internationalist of the same kind. But there is a striking difference between the spirit which informs these speeches of Dr. Evatt and that which is evident in some of the statements of his predecessor quoted by Miss Carter.

This is the second collection of the kind that has been published; and it is perhaps an indication of the new interest in this subject that this material should be made so quickly and so readily available to the Australian public. The volume contains published papers and speeches made by Dr. Evatt in Australia, the United States, and Great Britain, between March, 1945 and May, 1946. They deal with a variety of subject-matter, all more or less directly related to the problem of world order, and to the part which Australia has taken and must continue to take in the development and improvement of the United Nations organization. Two of the speeches, made in the House of Representatives in Canberra, contain a full exposition of Australian policy during the year, and a detailed statement of the part played by the Australian delegation in the drafting of the United Nations charter. Most of the others deal with less general themes; but the policy they adumbrate is consistent throughout.

Two problems of particular interest to the Australian people, the organization of the Pacific area and the future of backward or dependent communities, are referred to in a number of these speeches. On both Dr. Evatt's policy is clear and positive. With respect to the first, he insists that the Pacific area must be organized on regional lines, such as those sketched out in the Australia-New Zealand agreement of 1944, and he looks to the United States to aid in creating this organization. He reminds his American hearers more than once that "the far east is now your near west and our near north." For the government of colonial areas the policy proposed is a system of trusteeship, strengthened by an assured method of "accountability to a world authority, and an obligation expressed in clear terms to advance the political freedom and the economic welfare of such territories." No doubt Dr. Evatt has the Pacific region especially in mind; and many of his countrymen are evidently considering plans for the political and economic development of that area. But the principle is here given wider application. In such measures as the development of backward regions under properly organized trusteeship, and in the continuous and expanding work of the Economic and Social Council, the Australian statesman sees the chief hope for the future; and he warns against the danger of relying on mere political and military arrangements to secure peace, or to promote general prosperity, without which peace will be impossible.

Throughout these speeches emphasis is laid on the paramount necessity of continued friendship and co-operation between the United States and the nations of the Commonwealth. While not without hope that the United Nations organization may eventually become an effective agency of international co-operation, Dr. Evatt places his chief reliance upon the continued association of the English-speaking peoples. He adverts frequently—perhaps a little too frequently—to the intimate companionship developed in war, and appeals for its continuance as the most certain bulwark of peace. He is of course concerned in the main with the relations between Australia and the United States; and on that subject Professor Werner Levi's little volume outlining the commercial, financial and political relations between the two countries since the end of the eighteenth century, provides a good deal of interesting and useful data.

Commercial intercourse between the two countries began very shortly after the landing of the first groups of settlers in Australia. It has not always been

peaceful and lawful trading; and Professor Levi has some interesting evidence on the shifts and dodges adopted by ingenious Yankee traders to dispose of their cargoes of spirits in the face of determined opposition by the ruling authorities in the colonies. Trade between the two has grown steadily, with the balance almost always in favour of the United States, until it has now assumed very considerable proportions. American exports to Australia before 1939 were second in value only to those received from the United Kingdom. Important financial links have also been forged. It is here estimated that by 1930 some \$500 million of American capital were invested in Australian industry and government securities.

Professor Levi discusses the influence of American revolutionary ideas on political development in the Australian colonies and suggests a number of ways in which the federal constitution of the Commonwealth has been modelled on that of the United States. No doubt American influence has had some effect, but he seriously under-estimates the importance of the English parliamentary tradition in Australian development. The most interesting and detailed chapters are those which deal with relations between the two countries since the First World War, when serious disagreements arose over the question of the Pacific Islands. His conclusions, supported by extensive quotation from the speeches of Mr. Hughes and his colleagues, are in agreement with those of Miss Carter. The book ends with an interesting account of relations between the two peoples during the war. This is a field in which little serious work has previously been done, and Professor Levi's book provides a valuable historical background to a relationship that is certain to be of increasing importance in the future.

The maintenance of Australia's position as a Pacific power will require the maximum development of all available resources; and this problem has evidently been engaging the attention of many persons in the Commonwealth. The results of a survey carried out by a number of the country's leading scholars are presented in *Australia, Its Resources and Development*; and the conclusions will be of interest to more than the people of Australia. The purpose, as explained in a prefatory note, has been "to make more widely known the nature of Australia's resources and the opportunities which exist for their further development." The editor, Professor G. L. Wood of the University of Melbourne, sketches the country's economic history and her present position, and contributes an interesting essay on the potentialities of the South Pacific region regarded as an economic unit. The remaining papers deal with particular aspects of Australian economic life, many of them in a somewhat technical manner. As might be expected in such a book, there is some repetition and overlapping; but taken together, these essays provide a pretty thorough conspectus of the agricultural, industrial, and mineral resources of the country, and of the increase of production that may reasonably be expected.

Most of the writers are extremely cautious. Not unnaturally they express some gratification with what has already been achieved; but they are conservative in their estimates of further development, at least in the immediate future. The extreme aridity of much of the continent and the uncertain rainfall even in areas under partial cultivation are emphasized in almost every one of the essays dealing with agricultural and pastoral resources. At least three-quarters of the country, according to one estimate, "is destined to remain desolate, or at best sparsely populated." The widely held belief that Australia is capable of absorbing an indefinite increase of population is pretty thoroughly refuted. "There are," says Professor Wood, "virtually no empty spaces left, in the sense of lands not already

in use, which could be taken up by new settlers, and which would yield them a living." More intensive cultivation of the areas already in use offers the only hope of any considerable increase in the agricultural population; and the resources that could be made available in this way are not by any means unlimited. Even the great wool industry, upon which the economic and financial structure of the Commonwealth has been largely built, has no assured prospect for the future. The Japanese market has, at least for the present, been practically lost. That in the United Kingdom is precarious; and the industry is threatened, how seriously cannot yet be seen, by the production of synthetic fabrics. Should this industry fail to recover its pre-war position, the country's whole economy will be profoundly affected, and the Australian people may be faced with a crisis of the greatest magnitude.

It is evident that for a long time to come the country must continue to rely mainly on its primary products. A considerable expansion of secondary industry is anticipated, and much has already been accomplished in this field during the war; but this cannot be carried out very rapidly. The materials required for a diversified industrial system are neither plentiful nor easy of access. The difficulties of inland transportation and the absence in many parts of the country of abundant sources of electric power present serious handicaps. The present population, moreover, is insufficient, either to provide the man-power required by a greatly enlarged industrial system, or to absorb its products.

These are grave difficulties, but Professor Wood and his associates are confident that they can be overcome. Through the scientific use of known resources, combined with a vigorous policy of selective immigration, it is believed that a vast programme of industrial development can be carried out, and the country equipped with the means of meeting the responsibilities which the war has imposed upon it. Their plans embrace more than the territory of the Commonwealth; and in one of the most valuable essays in the volume Professor Wood outlines a scheme for the development of the Pacific islands as an "economic complement" to the mainland, which would not only make available the rich resources of the region, but which, it is believed, would improve the living standards and advance the political education of the island peoples.

If one may judge by the contents of this volume, the people of Australia are not looking to the future with any complacency. There is here some strong criticism of the deplorably low standards of living among some sections of the population, a condition "which reflects no credit upon a country such as ours!" But there is hope that certain developments in the east may provide great opportunities to Australian producers; and in the volume entitled *New Horizons*, Sir Bertram Stevens surveys one of the fields where prospects appear reasonably bright.

The book is a report of a study group of the New South Wales branch of the Institute of International Affairs on the relations between Australia and India, with particular reference to the possibilities of increased trade between the two. In substance it is a detailed analysis of the economic and financial condition of India at the present time. In spirit it is more than that. Sir Bertram and his associates have approached their task in a thoroughly realistic manner. They recognize that the Indian Ocean is hardly less important than the Pacific itself in the over-all plans for Australian security; and while their primary interest is the question of Australian trade, they are hardly less concerned with the aid which can be given in the creation of "a strong, prosperous and friendly India." The report, says Sir Bertram, "has been presented in a way that will provoke the

interest of the Australian people on grounds of a broad humanism and international goodwill!"

Like many of the essays in the preceding volume, this report emphasizes the somewhat precarious position of a number of Australia's major industries at the present time. It raises no extravagant hopes as to the volume of trade with India that may be expected; but it points out a number of advantages possessed by Australian producers. The industries of the Commonwealth are in a position to supply much of the equipment that will be required in the great agricultural and industrial expansion that is about to take place in India; and for the moment there are no serious rivals. Japan has been eliminated. Great Britain is not yet in a position to supply any great quantity of what is required; and Australia has the advantage of proximity and of an industrial plant that is readily adaptable to the requirements of the market. With the increasing prosperity which is anticipated, it is believed that India will provide a large and constantly expanding market for Australian wheat, wool, and other primary products.

A novel feature in the situation, and one which Sir Bertram discusses at some length is the financial position in which India now finds herself. The war has transformed her from a debtor to a creditor country. Not only has her overseas debt been paid off; she has in addition accumulated a sterling balance which is here estimated at about twelve times that standing to the credit of Australia. Until the controversy between the British and Indian governments over the allocation of war expenditure has been settled, the full amount of this credit cannot be known. But under any settlement India is now possessed of resources for the financing of her internal development greater than at any time in the past.

In the present political condition of India, Sir Bertram sees no serious deterrent to immediate economic development. Indeed, he is disposed to regard the political unrest of the country as due mainly to unsatisfactory economic conditions and to look to a drastic reform of the country's economy as the most certain means of putting an end to the present political and sectarian disturbances. To many that will appear a little too simple. The report says virtually nothing of the communal conflicts, or of the complexities of Indian society which may prove a serious obstacle to any plan of economic reform. It was written before the present division of India was adopted, and it presupposes a united country with a powerful government capable of carrying through a vigorous programme of social and economic regeneration. There is too, a certain lack of definiteness in the positive proposals for opening up this channel of trade; but the report reveals the possibilities of a relationship that may be of great benefit to the two countries concerned and to the whole Commonwealth.

To New Zealand also the war has brought great change. The conditions which ensured the safety of the country and permitted the remarkable development of the past century are not likely to be restored. Greater reliance must henceforth be placed on a close relationship with the United States, and upon a vigorous policy of development of the South Pacific area, in association with Australia and other interested powers. These ideas have been emphasized in a number of recent books, notably in the speeches of Mr. Walter Nash; and Mr. Soljak's little volume is an interesting and useful addition to that literature. It lacks the scholarship of Professor Wood's *Understanding New Zealand*, which appeared two years ago; but it is clearly written, in an easy, informal manner, and it should appeal to a wide public. The book contains a brief sketch of New Zealand history and some interesting chapters on the migrations of the Polynesian peoples, and on the

settlement and subsequent fortunes and misfortunes of the Maoris; but it is in the main a description of New Zealand as it has emerged from the war, and there is very little, from the topography and natural resources of the islands to the forms of government, the social customs and the peculiarities of New Zealand slang, that has escaped notice. Much of it is perhaps a little trivial; but it is a very readable account of a vital and active community, keenly conscious of its past achievements, and alive to the necessities of the present and the future.

Mr. Soljak is vigorous in his defence of New Zealand's social democracy and of the far-reaching system of controls and services which the Union has adopted. He points out that these have been developed on the basis of a capitalist economy, mainly in the interest of primary producers, that the majority of New Zealanders regard them as a sound investment in social health and welfare, and that they have in fact resulted in that "combination of private and public ownership which is becoming the characteristic of all western democracies." He anticipates no radical change in New Zealand's economic position. The country can employ a considerably larger population; and he looks forward to an increase through immigration of from ten to fifteen thousand a year. Great Britain, he believes, will continue to be the principal market for New Zealand's products; but that market is unlikely to expand, and if present standards are to be maintained and additional population employed, New Zealanders must direct their energies to new fields of enterprise. Such a field awaits them in the islands of the South Pacific; and Mr. Soljak is probably right in his assumption that the people of New Zealand are peculiarly well fitted to aid in the development of that region.

Some interesting material on problems and achievements in other parts of the Empire is supplied in the volume on *British Commonwealth Objectives*, edited by Sir Harry Lindsay. The book is made up of a series of papers read by different authors at meetings of the Royal Society of Arts during the past few years, preceded by a long and unnecessarily wordy introduction by the editor, in which he summarizes the chapters which follow without greatly adding to their interest. The subject-matter and the quality of the papers vary widely. Most of them are written by men who have had some personal experience in dealing with the problems which they discuss. A few are concerned with questions of secondary interest. Many deal with matters that are of some importance to the future of the Empire.

In an opening chapter the late Viscount Bennett surveys the present structure of the Empire, indicating the great variety of governmental forms which exist within its boundaries, and the difficulty, under such conditions, of maintaining a common policy and preserving amicable relations between these diverse communities. He sketches the growth of responsible government and dominion status, not without some criticism of recent development, and points out that, within the limits imposed by local conditions in tropical dependencies, this constitutes the ideal towards which the colonial administration is working. In a later chapter Sir Bernard Bourdillon, who has had long experience in the government of Nigeria, explains the methods by which the policy is put into effect, and gives some interesting and amusing instances of the difficulties which must be overcome in persuading the local inhabitants to accept the services of a sanitary inspector, or any of the other benefits which a paternal government desires to confer on them. He emphasizes the absolute sincerity of the men who are engaged in this important educational process. The policy, he observes, is generally "to allot to local bodies responsibility in excess of their capacity, rather than the reverse, and to allow them to learn by their own mistakes." They make mistakes, but they do learn; and the balance sheet for most parts of this extensive area appears not unpromising.

Lord Hailey contributes a chapter on "Capital and Colonies," in which, *inter alia*, he opposes any arrangement for withdrawing the British colonies from their present rulers and placing them under international control. Such a change, he declares, would be of benefit to no one, least of all to the local population, and it would almost certainly impede developments now in train. He points out that these colonies are not, and never have been reserved as an exclusive field for British capital. Heavy investment will long be required in many of the colonies, and until they are economically more advanced, that must come from without. He cites some instances of social services in Malaya, Rhodesia, and the Gold Coast, which have been financed by local industry, and which have proved remunerative "both in a moral and in an economic sense." In this, and in the chapter by Sir Bernard Bourdillon, there is some interesting discussion of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, and the sharing of financial burdens which the new doctrine of partnership implies. Throughout, the ultimate objective of self-government is emphasized. "All our thinking on social and economic problems," says Lord Hailey, "must be directed towards organising these communities to fit them for this end."

For Canadian readers the most interesting chapter will probably be that by Dr. Charles Camsell on the potential resources of Canada's new north. This is a stimulating and provocative essay, and it should engage the attention of Canadian economists. There is not yet any certain knowledge of the resources that may be uncovered in this vast region; but Dr. Camsell estimates that, with reasonable development of known mineral, forest, and agricultural resources, the area could support a density of population about equal to that of Norway. The subject has attracted attention elsewhere; and in his most recent book Mr. Lionel Curtis has pointed out the immense advantages which would accrue to Canada and the whole Commonwealth from a vigorous development of this region.

Other essays in this volume deal with recent industrial and scientific development in South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia; with the difficult problem of establishing a useful and practicable system of general education in East and West Africa; with the work of the British Council in extending knowledge of the Empire, especially in the east; and with recent labour legislation in India. This last reveals some slight progress during the past two decades, and it reveals even more clearly the immense difficulties to be overcome by any government in India, if even a moderate approach towards western standards is to be made.

A number of volumes dealing at greater length with the problems of India and her history remain to be considered. Of these, two are of more than ordinary interest. The first is Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India*, a book which derives its importance mainly from the author's position and from the circumstances in which it was written. The second is an *Advanced History of India*, by three Indian scholars, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri of the University of Calcutta, and Professor Kalinkar Datta of Patna College. This book supplies what has long been wanted, a reliable, comprehensive, and reasonably impartial history, written by properly qualified Indian historians for the use of their own countrymen. Mr. Nehru complains that, among other demoralizing effects of British rule, the Indian people have been "forced" to read their own history as interpreted by their conquerors. The charge seems a little doubtful; but in any case it can no longer be made. Dr. Majumdar and his associates have written a history that will certainly rank among the most thorough and scholarly works of the kind that have yet been

published, a book that should be of great service to western students as well as to those for whom it was primarily written. To consider these two books together is to receive a striking impression of the different, and often directly opposed ways, in which the events of Indian history may be interpreted.

Popular interest will no doubt centre on the later sections of Mr. Nehru's book, on his interpretation of British rule, and in particular on the discussion of recent events in which he himself has played so prominent a part. These parts of the book are, on the whole, disappointing. The policy and achievements of the Congress Party are discussed at some length, and the author pays a fine tribute to Mr. Gandhi and his leadership of the Indian people in the national revival that is now taking place. But a rooted conviction that the constitutional changes of the past thirty years were mere shams has prevented any serious examination of these measures, or of the reasons for their failure. The defence of the Congress Party during the recent war rests on the simple ground that the Indian people were being asked to defend the most abject form of slavery and to perpetuate a system which placed in the hands of the viceroy a power far greater than that of any of the dictators, and a power that was regularly and ruthlessly employed to uphold the rule of a hated conqueror. No candid student of Indian history will fail in some measure to sympathize with Mr. Nehru's point of view; and none will wholly dissent from the criticism, much of it drawn from English writers, which he levels against British rule. But it will be regretted that Mr. Nehru has been unable to discuss these questions in a more sober and realistic manner. Lessons derived from experience might be of some service, even to the Congress party in the difficult task which it must now undertake; and events may yet prove the unwisdom of attributing the whole range of India's social, economic, and political difficulties to the single cause of alien rule, or of assuming that the conflicts which now divide the country have been artificially created for the purpose of upholding, at whatever cost of suffering and degradation, the authority of the conqueror.

In reality the earlier chapters of the book are the more interesting. Contemporary politics are there less obtrusive, although they are not altogether forgotten. Mr. Nehru has a genuine enthusiasm for his subject, and he has the art of saying what he means in clear and positive terms. His chapters on the literary, scientific, artistic, and religious development of the country through all the long centuries before the advent of the Europeans are vivid and arresting. He takes a special pride in the expansion movement which, in the early centuries of the Christian era, carried Indian culture to so many of the islands and mainland areas further to the east. He is deeply impressed with the cultural tradition of India, extending "through five thousand years of history of invasion and upheaval"; and his purpose has been, at least in part, to place before his countrymen a record of that tradition, and to recall them to a sense of their past achievements.

Comment on the origin and development of the caste system, on the extraordinary accretions that have grown up about it in the course of centuries, and on the obstacles which it imposes in the way of any plan of rational reform, will be read with particular interest. On the latter parts of this question Mr. Nehru has little to say. The whole subject is discussed with a wealth of detail in Professor J. H. Hutton's *Caste in India*. More than ordinary knowledge of Indian sociological conditions would be required to follow the full implications of Professor Hutton's work; but he makes plain the endless ramifications of the system, the rigidity which it has assumed, and which, despite progressive education and en-

lightenment, is still but slightly impaired, and the difficulties likely to be encountered in reducing it to reasonable proportions.

In particular, this system, together with certain other features of the Indian social structure, are likely to prove serious obstacles to any drastic plan of agricultural reform; and as recent events have tragically shown, this is one of the major reforms which must be undertaken at once. Mr. Nehru is confident that India's resources are sufficient for the support of the present, or even of a larger population; and his view is supported by Mr. Michael Brown in the curious little volume entitled *India Need Not Starve*. The book is not very helpful. It consists of a series of articles published originally in the *Times* of India; and, apart from a few vague comments on the birth-rate and on the necessity of education and the general improvement in agricultural methods, it contributes very little to the subject.

A rather different picture of Indian history emerges from the work of Dr. Majumdar and his two collaborators. To deal with this book adequately would require more space than is here available, and a great deal more knowledge than this reviewer possesses. But to the student of history, the balanced and judicious discussion of evidence, the cautious statement of conclusions, and the objective treatment of the controversies with which the subject abounds are singularly impressive. There is little of the dogmatism which characterizes Mr. Nehru's interpretation, and even less of a disposition to attribute all of India's present difficulties to the single cause of exploitation by a foreign conqueror.

The material falls naturally into three divisions. The first, corresponding roughly with the classical and early medieval periods of western history, deals with the history of the Mauryan Empire and its successors, with the rise and development of Hinduism and Buddhism, with India's relations with other Asiatic countries and with Greece and Rome, and with the spread of Indian culture through many neighbouring lands. For the uninitiated this is an extraordinarily complex history. Much of it is a record of internecine conflict, of the expansion and contraction of the innumerable small states of which India was composed, and of repeated incursions by foreign invaders, adding new elements to the population and creating new causes of conflict and division. But there are interesting sections on social and economic conditions, on Indian architecture, and on the literary and philosophic movements which form so distinctive a part of the Indian cultural tradition.

The second part, extending approximately from the twelfth to the middle of the eighteenth century, deals with the rise and consolidation of the Delhi Sultanate, with the successful Moslem invasion, and with the work of Akbar and his successors, down to the advent of the Europeans. This was the first period in which the whole of the sub-continent was brought under the rule of a single authority; and that authority, as Dr. Datta points out, was maintained only with the greatest difficulty, even by the most powerful of the Mogul emperors. Their power rested on military supremacy. No constitutional checks of any kind existed. The emperor was, legally and constitutionally, an absolute autocrat. But the success, and even the continuance of his rule depended upon the recognition and observance of certain conditions; and the breakdown in the eighteenth century, as is here shown, was due much more to a failure to recognize those conditions than to aggression on the part of the European companies.

In the final section, dealing with the period of British rule, a somewhat different method is adopted. Strict chronological treatment gives place to a more topical arrangement, in which various aspects of Indian life and of Anglo-Indian relations

are analysed. The numerous constitutional arrangements, from the agreement with the emperor and the rulers of Bengal following Clive's victories to the incomplete federation embodied in the act of 1935, are explained in some detail; and a good deal of space is given to a consideration of the effects of British conquest and of the mercantile arrangements which followed, upon the industry, agriculture, and commerce of the country. The criticism which accompanies these analyses receives additional force from the restrained terms in which it is stated and from the readiness to give credit for undoubted benefits. Special importance is given to the achievement of British rulers in creating an administrative unity out of the heterogeneous elements which had previously existed. The value of what has been accomplished by the Indian Civil Service is fully recognized, as is also the weakness of the system, resulting from the unwise and unjust policy of exclusion that has continued until very recent times. In discussing events since 1918 these authors attain a degree of objectivity that is rare in histories of India; and their readers will regret that they have been unable to continue their work beyond 1937.

This book contains much which every serious student of the British Commonwealth should read and ponder. India's relations with the Commonwealth in the years to come are in the highest degree uncertain. Whether the two dominions now in process of formation will remain within the Commonwealth, and what will be the form of government eventually established in each, are questions to which no one can yet give answers. The forces inspiring the renaissance through which the country is now passing are compounded of many elements; and those imported from the west—liberal democracy, parliamentary government, industrialism, and the like—form but a small part. Beneath these, and undoubtedly more important in its influence on the mass of the people, is India's immemorial social and cultural tradition; and it would be naive folly to assume that some form of democracy and industrialism can be engrafted on this without disturbance, and that these will provide a quick and easy solution of all the problems. If India and Pakistan are to remain within the Commonwealth, the nature of their problems must be understood, and the peoples of the other member nations must be prepared to give the sympathy and the practical aid that will be required. To the growth of that understanding few persons have made a more notable contribution than the authors of this history.

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SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES¹

THE effect of the war in reducing the quantity of historical writing in the United States seems now to be becoming noticeable, but it has proved so far to be much less extensive in that respect than one would have expected from an upheaval of such dimensions. Nor have the standards of American scholarship suffered seriously from the hot blasts of war propaganda. Inevitably, however, books have appeared revealing the heart-searchings of a people in the throes of an ideological war and in other ways reflecting the greatest test to which the nation has yet been put.

Professor Merle Curti in 1938 elaborated the need for a history of patriotism.² The world was already clamorous with war-mongering and the United States was hushed in agonized anticipation of being compelled to make the most vital of national decisions. The book which he eventually produced in 1946, *The Roots of American Loyalty*, is the product of a United States at war after the decision had been made (made in Japan, it is true, but the effect was the same), and when national unity had proved equal to the formidable tasks of war. The respected author of *The Growth of American Thought* easily overcame the difficulties of resisting war-time emotional influences which might have over-heated the development of such a subject as patriotism if handled by less cool hands than his. Yet, although he describes the continued existence of differences of opinion within the United States today, this book is more confident in tone than it would have been if written in 1938.

The subject of the growth of patriotism within the United States is one which possesses obvious interest for Canadians with their similar yet even more difficult problem. Professor Curti's study will therefore be read with attention in Canada. He traces the origins, nature, and nurture of American loyalty. His central theme is familiar because it is, after all, the main thread of American history examined from a new point of view. He examines the growth of a firm and enduring union, the expansion over a quarter of a continent, and the rise of the United States to the status of the most powerful nation in the world. His particular interest is to study the effects and inter-reactions of these movements on the enshrinement of the country in the hearts of the people. He finds the origins of patriotism in the conflicting loyalties to an American locality on the one hand and to the British crown on the other. National patriotism, gradually replacing loyalty to the crown, supplemented rather than superseded local loyalties. It was brought about by a pride in the immensity of the natural phenomena of the country and by a belief in the principles of liberty which had been maintained as a result of the strength that only unity could give.

Professor Curti discusses carefully the devices by which national patriotism was fostered, such as constitution-worship, flag-worship, and national anthems, but shows that many people in the United States have advanced towards a sounder loyalty which, in a democracy, must be based on a higher intellectual basis. He regards with dislike the continuance of the more integral, exclusive, and chauvin-

¹This review article is not a survey of the literature which has appeared on the history of the United States since the last CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW article on this subject (September, 1944), but aims rather, in the limited space available, at covering a miscellaneous selection of books sent in for review purposes.

²M. Curti, "Wanted: A History of American Patriotism" (*Proceedings of the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers*, XXXVI, 1938).

istic type of patriotism but believes that the older humanitarian, individualistic, and liberty-loving patriotism is tenacious and will probably prevail (p. 247). Stephen Decatur's "our country, right or wrong" will not overwhelm Carl Schurz's "Our country, right or wrong! When right, to be kept right; when wrong, to be put right." It remains to be seen whether the philosopher's judgment, that intellectual ideals will triumph over the simpler and cruder emotions of the people, will prove correct. Historical research of this kind (and one is impressed by the multitude of primary authorities which Professor Curti explored and quoted) has very severe limitations. It can only use the opinions of the articulate and in the modern world it is not the articulate who rule.

In the United States the inarticulate who possess ultimate power are not necessarily uneducated or illiterate. Mass education in the high schools and colleges digs down to a fairly low level in the intellectual strata. Its influences are accordingly the more important for the future of the country and of the world. Mass education has brought pedagogical problems, not merely of reaching immature and less capable minds, but also the purely physical one of providing library facilities and books for the multitude. Small and poor colleges have always suffered from this problem in Canada as well as in the United States. The great education-factories, with their growing classes, now face it also. Its solution has been sought in the United States by producing bigger and better text-books and ever more monumental volumes of documents. Professor Louis M. Hacker of Columbia has gone a step further and combined the two in a single volume, *The Shaping of the American Tradition* which is almost the size of the family bible from which the ancestors of some of his students were educated, and which is apparently designed to ensure that the students of today will read no other book during the session.

The textual outline is full, but inevitably not full enough. It includes such generalizations as this: "Thanks to the mercantilist system imposed by England upon the American colonies, opportunities for industrial production, except in limited fields (ship-building, iron manufacture), were closed to Americans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (introduction, p. xviii), without any reference to the fact that natural economic and geographic factors had something to do with the division of functions between an old and a new country. Similarly, elsewhere on the same subject, there appears: "These programmes and attitudes of the absolutist and authoritarian state of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries we call today the Mercantilist System" (p. 12). England in the eighteenth century is usually considered to have been mercantilist but hardly "authoritarian and absolute" after the revolutions of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, Professor Hacker states categorically that British policy after 1763 was a strengthening of mercantilist practices (p. 134) without making reference to alternative theories that it was a new policy fundamentally opposed to mercantilism. No amount of exposure of immature students to numerous and extensive selections from documents will undo the authoritative dictate of the professor. Surely their judgment would be more suitably developed if they were allowed to read for themselves from sound authorities and taught how to handle and interpret a relatively small number of documents.

Little space is left here for further comment on the content of this book. The selection of documents is, on the whole, well-balanced but, as might be expected, it depreciates the part played by European influences in shaping the American tradition. It tones down also the blots on that American tradition which was

summed up in the introduction as "individualism, democracy, equality, and utilitarianism." Thus race prejudice is given little space and religious fanaticism none. The prohibition experiment has no documents and there is not even a reference to the gangster problem. These should be included if the intention is to give to students a true picture of the shape of the American tradition.

The border between, on the one hand, a narrow chauvinism coupled with a clamorous feeling of superiority which Professor Hacker says Americans do not possess (p. xiv) and, on the other, a reasonable pride in their country which Professor Curti thought should be part of intellectual patriotism, is not always easy for historians to draw, especially if it is to please both their compatriots and aliens. Over-emphasis on the virtues of the American tradition, as if they were the sole property of the United States and were utterly different from the traditions of other countries (in some of which, of course similar developments have taken place), may be misunderstood by immature students. That, of course, depends on the other courses which they study. Professor Hacker's book, though perhaps not chauvinistic in the aggressive sense of the word, might seem to non-Americans to possess elements of complacent self-satisfaction.

Very little exception can, however, be taken on this account against a book which one might have expected to be unduly patriotic and even chauvinistic, namely the first complete history of the United States navy since its recent great triumphs, *American Sea Power since 1775*. It is, to all intents and purposes, the first book on American naval history ever to be written because, until the recent war, the United States navy had participated in no major fleet action. No wonder, then, that a large part of the book is devoted to very recent history and a not inconsiderable part of it to the problems of large-scale training and supply which made possible such tremendous achievements by a navy appearing for the first time in great battles. The writers, members of the faculty of the United States Naval Academy, stress the fact that material resources, and not mere courage, won the war. They give admirable accounts of the new air-sea battles in the Pacific illustrated by excellent diagrams. They are aware of the greatness of the triumphs but they avoid superlatives.

The war has brought an increased interest, not merely in military matters, but also in foreign affairs. The third edition in six years of Bailey's *Diplomatic History of the American People* emphasizes this fact. It needs no introduction; it has already proved its worth. This new edition includes the diplomatic history of the war. Professor Bailey makes no bones about his position against isolationism which he describes as a "one hundred per cent failure." He must now be watching with interest the neo-isolationism at present raising its head cautiously and even subtly as in Beard's *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940*, which was reviewed in a recent issue of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.³

This latter book synchronizes closely with other post-mortem political attacks on the late President Roosevelt. It is, in a sense, counter-balanced in that respect, though not directly countered, by another book which has recently appeared, Frances Perkins's *The Roosevelt I Knew*. Miss Perkins was associated with Roosevelt for thirty-five years all told, starting in New York state politics. She and Harold Ickes were the only cabinet ministers to serve throughout Roosevelt's twelve years of office. She became a personal friend, as well as a devoted political

³C. A. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-40* (New Haven, 1946), reviewed by W. L. Morton in "Canada and Foreign Affairs" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, June, 1947).

follower, sympathizing with his aims and objectives, revering his strength and inherent "goodness," and appreciating his political sagacity. She declares her admiration frankly at the beginning of her book. Yet she is not blind to his limitations. She draws particular attention to his lack of intellectual qualities and to his reliance, therefore, on judgments based on a blend of practical common-sense and moral and emotional perception.

Miss Perkins naturally writes with greater detail and greater authority on the subjects with which, as Secretary of Labor, she was directly connected, namely, labour problems, social security, relief and public works schemes. Future students of these aspects of the "New Deal" must turn to her book first. Here, as on Roosevelt's character and personality, this book is a primary authority. Miss Perkins shows that, under Roosevelt, the American workingman made gains which he is not likely to lose: trade-union recognition, the principle of the five-day, forty-hour week, and the basic provision for social security in the form of old age pensions and unemployment insurance. The latter may not be strong enough to weather another major depression, but it shows the way. Future administrators facing economic crises will also, says Miss Perkins, have the inestimable advantage of Roosevelt's pioneer experimentation in the executive and administrative fields of the policies necessary to overcome them.

To Miss Perkins, the chief interest of the story of government is not the struggle of the "ins" and the "outs" for the fruits of power, but the search for efficient administration within the limits prescribed by popular sovereignty and by the constitution. Readers outside the United States may think that she shows extraordinary patience with the barriers imposed by the constitution against the achievement of some of the things which she sought in the interests of the well-being of the community. Success in politics in the United States comes to those who learn to accept the rules of the game, as laid down by the constitution, but who, at the same time, see how far the almost inflexible constitution can be bent to serve their ends. Roosevelt possessed just those abilities and so was an ideal leader during depression and war. He had enormous popular appeal and he expected, and frequently received, great personal loyalty from his followers. He could delegate responsibility without losing control, at least he did so until his illness late in the war. Miss Perkins denies that the administrative confusion, so frequently alleged against the New Deal, existed before the creation of the Advisory Defense Council. She also shows that Roosevelt's practice in dealing with the administrative problems of recovery, the training of a corps of government servants during the years of the New Deal, and the experiences in large-scale organization and communal living derived from the association of the army who supplied stores, the ex-officers who ran camps, and the young men of the Civilian Conservation Corps, all contributed towards the eventual defeat of Germany and Japan.

The recent interest in international strife and in the problems which it poses to the United States is paralleled by an intensification of historical interest in the origins and course of the great war which split the Union. There has been in the recent past a tendency to discount slavery and the secession issue as precipitants of the Civil War and to lay stress on the fundamentally different conceptions of society which had grown up in the North and the South.⁴ This seems to obscure the importance of the immediate causes of the war, the question of secession, the

⁴C. A. and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1934), II, 54-7; Avery Craven, *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861* (University, La., 1939).

activities of northern abolitionists, and of southern fire-eaters, and even the problem of slavery itself. Within the last few years there have appeared a number of studies of the bellicose opinion in North and South and of the election which gave the extremists their opportunity.⁵ Among the latest of these studies is Crenshaw's *The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860* which analyses, state by state, Southern opinion on the issues involved. Mr. Crenshaw agrees with Mr. Chauncey S. Boucher that the South was not an aggressive slavocracy plotting war;⁶ and he illustrates the great disunity of the South already demonstrated by Professor Avery Craven;⁷ but he concludes that "by 1859-1860 there existed in the South a determined and exasperated group" which desired to unite the fifteen slave states to obtain either a "guarantee of Southern rights" or an "independent Southern nation." The election of Lincoln, which the most radical Southern fire-eaters desired, brought Southern unity but failed to achieve either of the secondary aims.

The legacy which the South felt that it received from the Civil War and the reconstruction period which followed was a subordinate economic, social, and political status within the Union. Although Southern votes frequently held a balance and could influence the platform of at least one party, for many years any reference to the negro problem, to the slavery issue, or to the war, could effectively block attempts by the South or by Southerners to influence the nation. This is clearly illustrated in *The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885*. Three times Bayard, a southern gentleman from Delaware, was a strong contender for the Democratic nomination. Three times he failed, partly because of his Southern sympathies. Dr. Tansill's scholarly biography is introductory to his earlier volume, already well-known in Canada, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard*.⁸ Built on a wide selection from Bayard's correspondence, it follows the technique of "making the man speak for himself through his letters" without, however, destroying dramatic continuity. The result is a clear picture of a noble character (if one accepts his Southern attitude to the negro question which the biographer apparently echoes) passing unbesmirched through the mire of post-Civil War politics.

On the other side of the fence, high moral principles allied with astute political sagacity are revealed in Lincoln's writings without leaving doubts in the mind, as does Bayard, about the validity of his attitude on fundamentals such as human rights. Professor Basler, a well-known Lincoln scholar, has published in a convenient single volume a well-chosen selection of Lincoln's works, *Abraham Lincoln, His Speeches and Writings*, which gives the general reader an insight into the mind of the greatest American president and which reveals the extent to which he retained clarity of thought on matters of principle in the midst of the turmoil of war, politics, and administrative difficulties.

⁵Reinhart H. Luther, *The First Lincoln Campaign* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944); David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven, 1942); Avery Craven, *Edmund Ruffin, Southerner: A Study in Secession* (New York, 1932); William E. Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1937); William E. Baringer, *A House Divided: Lincoln as President Elect* (Springfield, Ill., 1945); and James G. Randall, *Lincoln and the South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1945).

⁶C. S. Boucher, "In Re the Aggressive Slavocracy" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VIII, 1921, 13-79).

⁷Craven, *The Repressible Conflict*, 1-31.

⁸C. C. Tansill, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1897* (New York, 1940).

Professor Basler took up his task because he had doubts about Nicolay and Hay's editorial standards,⁹ but he admits that the peculiarities of Lincoln's handwriting and punctuation led him to revise his judgment of his predecessors in the field. His book will not replace the more complete selection of Nicolay and Hay for the scholar. (They had access to the letters recently thrown open to students and the public in Washington and Professor Basler uses such letters only from their edition.) But, as Professor Basler's canons of editing are sounder and more consistent his book should be used along with theirs, and for the general reader and the undergraduate his possesses the obvious value of being more compact.

Another collection of letters which has recently appeared, Professor Van Doren's *Letters and Papers of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson, 1753-1785*, is different in that it consists mainly of letters published now for the first time. Jackson, a lawyer of the Inner Temple, a member of parliament, and colonial agent for Pennsylvania, with a reputation for omniscience, and with friendly feelings for America, is said to have had "one of the best pens in England." It has also been said that he helped Franklin write his pamphlet on "The Interest of Great Britain . . . and the Acquisition of Canada or Guadeloupe," a subject of interest to Canadians. Professor Van Doren says that Jackson may have given Franklin advice on the subject but that the actual writing was done by Franklin. The correspondence of these men possesses an obvious value to students of the American Revolution.

The most recent development in the economic and social sphere in the United States, as in Canada, during recent years has been the increasing activity of the federal government where previously the states or provinces reigned virtually supreme. Yet, strangely enough, American economic historians have largely neglected to study the role of the state governments in this sphere. Oscar and Mary Flug Handlin's well-documented *Commonwealth* deals with this question in relation to Massachusetts, analysing the ideas which led the men of that state to regulate the activity of government in their economy between the Revolution and the Civil War.

They show that after the breach with England strong government was quickly established in Massachusetts despite the opposition of those elements which, for economic or political reasons, feared the re-establishment of central authority. The new government exercised in mercantilist fashion the power of fostering economic activity by the well-known device of transferring governmental powers to chartered corporations. The danger of "privilege" inherent in such a procedure did not lead in Massachusetts to the same evils as in older countries because the government was subject to greater control by the people. This feature of the government of the state, illustrated by the resurrection of the old Puritan name "Commonwealth" when the constitution was framed in 1780, was born of those ideas which had brought about the Revolution and then had motivated vigorous opposition to the constitution. These ideas continued to affect the life of the state though they had not succeeded in dominating it.

The multiplication of the number of corporations as a result of easy incorporation served at first to dilute the privileges granted to a particular class. On the other hand, in the course of time corporations became divorced from the state and more dependent on their shareholders. A body of corporation law grew up to protect "the property of the citizen against his government." Liberal humani-

⁹John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (12 vols., New York, 1905).

tarian opposition developed against the activity of such corporations on account of their interference with the well-being of the community as a whole. But liberal humanitarianism in America, say the Handlins, was not what it was in Europe, a laissez-faire philosophy. (One might add that it was not completely laissez-faire in Britain either, witness Shaftesbury's factory acts). In America the state was the people and the corporations, once incorporated, were unconnected with the state. Attack on their privileges, therefore, did not necessitate attack on all the activities of the state. The state was not an enemy of reformers but became their weapon.

To show the context of their story the Handlins continue it briefly after the Civil War. British theories of laissez-faire were readily accepted by the new powerful war-produced economic interests in Massachusetts which were anxious to limit state action. The standard of private enterprise was now taken up by mammoth business corporations organized on national lines. But by this time, also as a result of the war, another great change had occurred; the centre of gravity had moved to Washington. This was fortunate. Only the federal government proved powerful enough to curb the nation-wide corporations marshalled under the false colours of laissez-faire and free enterprise.

Against the privilege of corporations American liberalism struggled vigorously both before and after the Civil War. Like A. M. Schlesinger Jr.'s well-known book, *The Age of Jackson*,¹⁰ Professor Chester Destler's *American Radicalism 1865-1901* argues that Eastern radicalism was at least as important as the western variety in the development of American liberalism. Professor Destler's is the less pleasing of the two volumes, lacking entirely any real unity or dramatic force. It consists of eight articles which have already appeared in well-known periodicals rounded off to make this volume by the addition of three new essays. The author discusses the conflict between Western and urban radical ideology and hints at a new radical synthesis arising in the West from the fusion of the two. This volume is of especial interest to students of Western radicalism in Canada. Canadian prairie socialist and farmer agrarian movements reflect the same conflict and synthesis at a later date. It is to be hoped that, when he has finished the biography of Henry Demarest Lloyd on which he is engaged, Professor Destler will complete the fuller study of Western radicalism for which he is eminently fitted.

Canadian interest in the earlier colonial status of Canada still outweighs interest in its responsibilities as a colony-possessing power. A recent article, and a book on the autonomy movements in Alberta and Saskatchewan before 1905, are, however, evidence that attention is being given to this subject.¹¹ It has been assumed too readily in the past that Canada's colonial problem is similar to that of the United States as a colonial power. Professor Pomeroy's *The Territories and the United States 1861-1890* therefore possesses particular importance for Ca-

¹⁰A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1946). According to Mr. Schlesinger, Jackson represented the mutual interest of western and eastern radicals against the banks and the "money power." These groups parted company over the problem of what should replace the Second Bank of the United States. Jackson refused to adopt western schemes for easy money. His successor, Van Buren, whom he nominated, produced after the crisis of 1837 the independent treasury plan, which was the solution of the Jacksonian "hard money" men and of eastern radicalism.

¹¹R. G. Trotter, "Canada as a Colonial Power" (*International Journal*, I, 1946, 215-17); C. C. Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada: The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories* (Toronto, 1946). Reviewed in CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, June, 1947.

nadians. It deals with the better-known aspect of American colonial government and policy, the so-called "territorial system." The main feature of that system is that the territory, unlike a colony, is recognized as being destined for incorporation into the metropolitan body on an equal status with the founding member states. In other respects the territorial system was modelled on the British colonial system with minor but significant changes. For instance, territorial governors, appointed by the president, were protected from the interference of legislative bodies by the payment of federal salaries; the prospect of a senatorship after statehood, however, made them somewhat amenable to popular territorial interests; the territories were represented in Congress by a delegate who had a voice but not a vote; and Congress made direct appropriations to aid in organizing the territories. Such a system is clearly different in structure as well as in aim from the British colonial system where the colonies have no representation within the metropolitan government, and where the aim is self-government not federation.

The success or failure of territorial administration cannot, however, be estimated without some discussion of movements for statehood with which the author, for some reason, did not concern himself. By his own terms of reference he limited himself to administrative problems only. On occasions "organized" territorial status is granted by Congress to a unit, and then, either for reasons of national politics, or on account of inferiority of numbers or alleged inferiority of people, or because it is not contiguous in territory with the parent body, the territory is hampered on its road to statehood. In such cases territorial status becomes little different from ordinary colonial government. Furthermore, Congress may ignore a dependent unit, neglecting to organize it. In such case the colonial dependency is subject to arbitrary rule. These are oft-forgotten weaknesses in the territorial system. They are brought sharply to the attention by a new edition of Miss Laura Thompson's book, *Guam and Its People*.

Miss Thompson is an anthropologist with a wider interest than many of that profession. In 1938-9, to aid the United States Naval Administration of Guam, she studied the educational system of the island in order to discover whether it met the needs of island life. The first edition of *Guam and Its People* appeared in 1941. Since then the Japanese occupation, re-occupation by the United States, and post-war policy, have all necessitated a re-examination of the problem. (Miss Thompson was also, when she wrote this book, employed by the Department of the Interior which was then interested in taking Guam over from the Navy).¹² This new edition has therefore been completely re-written and is an important statement on the colonial problems of the United States.

Adherence to the "territorial system" described above and refusal to create a civil colonial administration with cabinet ministers and a colonial civil service for possessions not organized as territories, has meant that such United States possessions have remained under military government. The War Department has long had colonies in the Caribbean. Samoa and Guam have been administered by the Navy for nearly fifty years. The United States is the only colonial power which governs its dependencies under long-term military rule and was, when Miss Thompson wrote, except for South Africa, the only colonial power which had not offered to "trustee" to the United Nations Assembly the former League of Nations

¹²The Interior Department and the Navy have recently co-operated in furthering a bill by which Guam would be administered by the Navy and which makes no definite guarantee to Guamians of the civil liberties of the Bill of Rights and of Jury Trial.

mandates under its control.¹³ Miss Thompson shows that, under Spanish rule, the Guamians were, as early as 1681, Spanish subjects with equal rights under the law with Spaniards. Conquered by the United States in 1899 they are still not United States citizens but are "nationals" of the United States, without rights under the constitution, trial by jury, or the advantage of United States passports when travelling outside Guam. The Naval Administration grants them "substantially" the same civil rights as the first ten amendments, but it is a grant "of grace" and not "of right"; and it may be summarily withdrawn. The Guamians elect a Congress which can advise only. Local officials who, under Spanish rule, were appointed from a list chosen by the people themselves, are now appointed by the naval government without reference to the wishes of the people.

In its educational policy the naval government has been more benevolent than most other colonial powers, perhaps because of an easier financial position; but, as one might expect from military rule, there is more restriction than would be the case under civilian authorities. Guam was closed to all foreign ships in 1912 (presumably as a security measure) with the exception of Japanese schooners which traded there regularly until 1939 (and which spied out the land). Before the war commercial goods were carried in United States transports. At present all import and export trade is organized by the Navy which is said to receive "a 10 per cent cut." The fortunes of the Guamians in this sphere, as in other ways, are in the hands of the Navy.

Before the war the Navy objected to civilian control of the island for reasons of security and because the Guamians were not yet ready for citizenship. Now, the grounds of objection have changed. As a result of post-war naval development the Guamians are outnumbered in their own island so the Navy opposes citizenship and civilian rule for them because they would be swamped by the continental Americans.

Miss Thompson's third edition is timely and may help to remedy the situation. The Guamians are pressing for citizenship. It remains to be seen what policy the United States will pursue. Territorial organization is, as we have seen, a step towards statehood, and Guam is hardly fitted to make the fifty-second state (after Alaska, Hawaii, and the Virgin Islands). Return to permanent military government would be iniquitous after the contributions which the Guamians made to the war effort. (A Guamanian force was operating in the island before the Americans landed). The realistic solution would be the creation of a government organization to administer all United States colonial possessions. Residents in all United States possessions should be given the status of citizens just as all British colonial peoples have, and are usually proud to claim, the status and privileges of being British subjects. Guamians would thus get the protection of United States courts. It is questionable, even then, whether they would be as fortunately placed as they are under a parliamentary system of government where the responsibility of a colonial secretary to parliament makes for a closer check by the legislature on the activity of colonial officials, as the recent halting of the execution of some ritual murderers in a British African colony bears witness.

The development of Canada's great northern territory, under a government which is a federation like the United States, but which has parliamentary insti-

¹³On April 2, 1947 the United States proposals for the trusteeship of the mandated islands of the Pacific were accepted by the Security Council under Articles 82 and 83 of the United Nations Charter dealing with "strategic areas." F. W., "American Trusteeship in the Pacific Islands" (*World Today*, July, 1947).

tutions like those of Great Britain, obviously means that Canada must work out her own colonial problem in her own way with an awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of both systems. Professor Pomeroy's and Miss Thompson's books are useful contributions.

Just as Canadians, if they have not thought deeply about the matter, assume that Canada and the United States have identical problems and policies in relation to the control of dependencies so they agree, perhaps with more justice in this case, that Canadian and American social history have points of similarity. First-hand "period" descriptions of American society, therefore, possess particular interest. The historical novelist, Kenneth Roberts, and his wife have produced an English translation of Moreau de St. Méry's *American Journey 1793-1798*, previously only available in an edition in French.¹⁴ M. de St. Méry, a creole lawyer who figured in the French Constituent Assembly, fled to America to evade Robespierre and the guillotine. He returned to France under the Directorate. His diary of his Atlantic voyage, and of his life in Virginia, New York, and Philadelphia, is almost as fascinating as Kenneth Roberts's *North-West Passage*. De St. Méry was impressed by the equality he found in America but did not think that it should be extended to the sharing of hotel beds with casual fellow travellers of the same sex. He was charmed by southern women but scornful of their ignorance of hygiene. His views on sex mores will probably be the most quoted sections of this book although they reveal more about the interests of M. de St. Méry than about the American women of whom he writes.

Professor A. M. Schlesinger's *Learning How to Behave* is not a new Emily Post but is social history from a new angle. The sources used are almost exclusively the books of etiquette published for Americans. In order to give evidence about the results of their teaching, there is an occasional quotation of an observation made by someone, frequently a foreigner, upon the manners of Americans. In social history such isolated quotations of opinion can be dangerous but selections made by an editor of the *History of American Life* can be accepted as representative.

American manners, says Professor Schlesinger, were crude in the early days and teachers of etiquette (including George Washington) struggled hard to improve them by introducing formality on the European pattern. When wealth brought social and class distinction to this continent they achieved considerable success. Professor Schlesinger shows that good manners, however, tended to spread to all groups in society despite difficulties introduced by mass immigration and frontier individualism. Indeed the latter contributed to the reform of manners, as the frontiersman had a natural courtesy for the few women he met: In recent times the author shows that employers came to instruct their employees in good manners because good manners were good business. He described the greater freedom after the First World War as shown by the freer relations between the sexes. He ignores, however, the spread of formality in manners among more and more classes of Americans even during that age of greater freedom, and the part played by business houses in fostering such empty forms of etiquette as the corsage presented to the partner at all high school parties, the greeting card racket, and the giving of high-priced gifts on Mother's Day, Father's Day, and lesser occasions.

A book on local history which might at first sight seem to have international appeal is a new history of Boston. In recent years local history is everywhere being retold in terms of national trends rather than of local pride which was its

¹⁴Moreau de St. Méry, *Voyage aux États-Unis de l'Amérique*, edited by S. L. Mims (New Haven, 1913).

earlier mainstay. Boston's foremost position in the history of the United States, however, has meant that its story has always been more or less related to national developments. John Jennings, head of the United States Naval Aviation History Unit, is a historical novelist. In *Boston, Cradle of Liberty* he graphically retells the story of Boston with a wealth of anecdote. One is impressed by the amount of bad language which he has dug up or reconstructed (which is the case, he does not make clear). But there are inconsistencies, omissions, and inaccuracies which mar the story as history. For instance, "the first repressive Acts of Trade and Navigation," he says, "were aimed primarily at Boston" (p. viii). Later he adds, "This first Navigation Act of 1650 was not aimed solely, or even primarily, at New England" (p. 55). The Ordinance of 1650 was, of course, not one of the series of the code of the Navigation Acts but was a punitive measure directed against the colonies. The first Navigation Acts proper were directed against the Dutch. Mr. Jennings even has the old myth about George III's personal responsibility for the Revolution.

The title of this book is perhaps significant. Boston has, of course, made great contributions to human liberty but this author does not prove that point by omitting to give due attention to such facts as the treatment by Bostonians of Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and the Salem witches. He explains such omissions by saying that they do not bear upon the maritime activities of Boston as a port; but he includes a great deal which is only related indirectly to the history of Boston as a port but which possesses dramatic value and appeals to national prejudices, e.g., the riotous behaviour of Bostonians in 1774-6 and the "atrocities" committed by the British troops. The book stops at the Revolution. Perhaps its title was chosen to offset the fact that in later times Boston is alleged to have followed the examples of repression which Mr. Jennings carefully omits. It is to be hoped that in his duties as historian for the United States Navy Air Force Mr. Jennings does not adopt the principles which he follows in this book. He writes, "Our history as it has been fed to our children has not always been fair to the other side. Still, that is no reason why we should forthwith accept as gospel all that the other side's historians have written about us" (p. 162), and then proceeds to produce rousing nationalist chronicles.

Lastly must be mentioned by way of conclusion two useful "tools" for students of American history. *American Diaries* is an impressive comprehensive list of such diaries as have been published completely or in part. It covers the field down to 1861. The *United States, 1865-1900*, volume III, a survey of publications and unpublished dissertations on American history for the year 1944, published by the Hayes Foundation, includes brief but very useful comments on the works listed.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Study of History. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. Abridgment of volumes I-VI by D. C. SOMERVELL. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London, New York, [Toronto]: Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xiv, 617. (\$5.00)

MANY students of history who felt compelled by lack of time or other good reason reluctantly to postpone the reading of Toynbee's *Study* in the original six volumes will welcome this abridgment as a means of becoming acquainted with an important work which has provoked and will provoke much discussion. The abridgment has been done so skilfully and affectionately that it may seem odious to criticize it. However the introductory section and the chapter entitled "Schism in the Soul" have been made difficult by the process of compression and although the common omission of examples from any civilization except the Western, the Orthodox Christian, and the Hellenic saves the average reader bewildering travel through unfamiliar areas, it can create the impression that Toynbee is basing his theory on these three civilizations alone, and sometimes almost makes him appear guilty of merely categorical statements.

Toynbee's concern in this work is with the species of human society which he terms "civilizations." At the outset he discards crude ideas of the unity of history and Darwinian concepts of progress, and analyses human history into twenty-one civilizations (plus three abortive and five arrested examples). These he regards as the only intelligible fields of historical study, although as his argument proceeds he is compelled to subsume them into one field—the civilized world. By a comparative study of civilizations he attempts to discover what brings a civilization to birth, what makes it grow, what causes break-down, and what produces disintegration. The book concludes with an interesting examination of the psychology of a disintegrating society.

There can be no question of Toynbee's vast erudition even though the omission of footnotes in the abridgment obscures in some measure the breadth and depth of his reading. Students may or may not agree with his interpretation of particular incidents and passages within this or that civilization but most will admit the penetration and grace of his treatment. Brisker controversy will therefore revolve about his method. Although Toynbee insists upon the importance of close study of short periods, he has in this *Study* departed from a century's fashion in historiography by rejecting both national histories, and the process of fact-collecting underlying monographs. On the other hand he is not, it would appear, wholly in the tradition of Comte (and others). He has, it is true, been accused of "positivistic historiography"—of applying the methods of physical science to history and of being interested in the facts of history only in so far as they exemplify laws. His defence against this charge may be found in explicit form on pages 43 to 47, and elsewhere, and implicitly in, for example, his criticism of Spengler, his denial of the possibility of predicting the future, and his belief that something new is always emerging from the interplay of historical forces. The social "laws" which Toynbee is trying to formulate are extremely broad and very tentative. This is indicated by the addition of inverted commas to the word "law" when it occurs, in this sense, in the original edition. The further criticism of Toynbee as a positivist—that he regards the material of history as something wholly objective which he can arbitrarily chop into twenty-one pieces in order that his method may be effective—will be seen to be invalid by anyone who has read the book, and in

particular the chapter "Schism in the Soul" sympathetically. In fact Toynbee has made a brilliant attempt to re-experience the past as reconstructed from historical evidence. To this end he has fully used poetry, allegory, myth, and analogy, taking into service, so far as it is possible, the methodology of science as well as the intuition and insight of the poet and adopting all available means to reach his goal. The strain of mysticism which some have detected in his work is due to his refusal to adopt "the Western process of evicting God to make room for Law." Toynbee is not reviving Vico or Spengler. He owes much to some of his predecessors, especially Bergson, but his method is new and somewhat strange. If R. G. Collingwood's contention is right that history has through the centuries slowly been gaining recognition as a discipline *sui generis* and has slowly been working out its own proper methodology, Toynbee's *Study* may well be an important stage in the process. At any rate he has presented a challenge to which students of history must respond in some way, and a stimulus to which they should react.

Unless the critic is to reject Toynbee's method wholly (which the present writer is not prepared to do), or to deal individually with a multitude of Toynbee's specific examples (which is here out of the question), criticism must centre on certain matters which may receive fuller discussion in the volumes of the *Study* not yet published. The technical terms "apparentation" and "affiliation," for example, expressing the relation of certain civilizations to certain others, are certainly metaphorical, yet the reality underlying the metaphor has not been satisfactorily explained. Similarly there is frequent reference to "higher religions" (sometimes with quotation marks) with no indication of the criterion of "highness." Both these matters are of cardinal importance in Toynbee's theory and one suspects that later volumes must discuss them thoroughly. The use of such undefined terms as "creative faculty" and "spiritual faculty," important though they are, may be allowed to pass since any attempt at definition would bring little enlightenment.

It is impossible to enumerate the many ways in which Toynbee's method has cast light on the serious human problems and achievements with which history deals, but one or two may be cited. His interpretation of inter-state warfare as a social malady symptomatic of a breakdown in civilization and prophetic of the creation of a universal state rings ominously in the ears of those who can see science and industry putting new drive into war, and the world divided politically into only two camps. Any one may regard as complementary to this the verdict reached after a consideration of each civilization's failure to solve its problems of political sovereignty—"the only society that is capable of embracing the whole of mankind is a superhuman *civitas Dei*: and the conception of a society which embraces mankind and nothing but mankind is an academic chimaera." A society which is remarkable for its lack of faith may resent the judgment, but will find difficulty in refuting it by the evidence of history.

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The Great War for the Empire: The Years of Defeat, 1754-1757. By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. (The British Empire before the American Revolution, vol. VI.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xxxviii, 426, xxxviii. (\$7.50)

PROFESSOR GIPSON's sixth volume in his well-known series on the British Empire in the last quarter of a century before the American Revolution deals with the

years 1754-7—the first years of the final Anglo-French struggle for the domination of North America. Like Volumes IV and V of the series, which were subtitled *Zones of International Friction*, parts of this volume cover in detailed fashion the relations between New France and the English colonies and form a chapter of the history of Canada. The title, *Years of Defeat*, and the general title of the series, show the ground on which Professor Gipson stands. His work on the Anglo-French struggle is, in a sense, a counterpart to Parkman's volumes on the subject, but written around the theme of British North America in the years before 1776 rather than, as was Parkman's epic, around French North America. Gipson's vista is, however, wider than Parkman's, whose eye restricted itself too narrowly to the American scene.

The theme of *Years of Defeat* is tragedy. Washington's defeat at Great Meadows, Braddock's disaster at the Monongahela, Boscawen's lost opportunity on the Grand Banks, the collapse of schemes to take Forts Crown Point and Niagara, the repudiation of Shirley, the loss of Oswego, and Byng's failure to relieve Minorca in the Mediterranean, all presaged the collapse of the British Empire and, in particular, the end of British colonial effort in North America. New France, supported by the might of France, was on the march, aiming at snuffing out the English colonies. Centralized government in New France appeared certain to triumph despite the superiority in numbers of the English colonists. In these years the English colonists came fully to appreciate their danger and began to lose confidence in eventual victory. North America seemed destined to become the possession of Bourbon France. In *Years of Defeat* Professor Gipson shows an empire tottering on the brink of disaster with an uncertain future for the handful of hitherto prosperous colonies in America and for the destiny of a continent.

His general thesis indicates that the Anglo-French struggle which began in America, (a "Nine Years' War" and not a "Seven Years' War") was more than a mere "French and Indian War." It was the "Great War for the Empire." It was fought to decide the fate of North America, and its result was of greater moment than that of the War of Independence. It decided that America would be Anglo-Saxon in culture and government with all the implications arising out of those circumstances. Had the war gone otherwise, he says, the "Americans" would have been as "securely confined, as are the people of Chile today, to a long but narrow ribbon of territory lying between the coast-line and a not too distant mountain chain" and would not have enjoyed "the vast western interior of the continent." One might add that they would possibly have not become independent like Chile but would have either remained British colonies or else have been swallowed up in a French society and empire.

Professor Gipson argues that the English colonies were saved in the years of defeat and later, not so much by their own endeavours, nor by the weakness and mistakes of their enemies, but by the support of British sea and land forces. Whereas the new British imperial policy which caused the loss of America is usually understood to have really begun with Grenville's financial policy in 1764, Professor Gipson believes that it was in full swing with the expensive colonization schemes in Nova Scotia and Georgia before the war. He believes also that British plans to defend the king's possessions in America against French encroachment, particularly in the Ohio valley, were a part of that new policy rather than of orthodox mercantilism which, if followed, would have proceeded more cautiously on the expectation of retaining British trade with the expanding French Empire without attempting to conquer it. Pure mercantilism, he says, would have led the British to act in

1754 much as the Dutch acted a century earlier in New Netherlands. The comparison is not completely appropriate. Dutch policy was decided not only by "pure mercantilism" but also by French pressure in Europe. Protection of colonial possessions was always an essential part of mercantilist policy. Mercantilists and modern economic historians alike have explained that it was defence for which the English colonists paid when, by virtue of the Navigation Acts Code, they lost money and English merchants gained it. It is thus arguable that in 1754 there was no new policy but that Britain began to honour her obligations. When she found the cost of defence back-breaking (the merchants who had reaped the profits were not submitted to the screws of the income tax to compel them to give up the money for the defence of their trade) then Britain introduced a really new policy to make the colonists contribute more handsomely to their own defence. Such an argument does not, however, deny Professor Gipson's main thesis—that the colonists in 1754 were not prepared to defend themselves and that they therefore leaned heavily on British aid. Nor is that thesis challenged by Professor Curtis P. Nettels's recent claim that he misuses a letter of Washington's about the cowardice of British regulars in order to suggest that it was the Americans who were cowards and so to support his argument that they could not defend themselves.¹ Courage alone was not likely to save the colonies. Professor Gipson shows amply that other important essentials were lacking.

In his discussion of the early years of the war, Professor Gipson gives some interesting opinions about well-known personalities. Washington he describes as an immature soldier, eager to learn, but very lacking in experience. Braddock is an able commander led, through lack of Indian auxiliaries, into an ambush which could otherwise have been avoided. (Incidentally he destroys an old myth by showing that those who hid behind trees at Monongahela suffered more casualties than those who were in European-style formation. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, influenced by a personal quarrel with the Governor of South Carolina, ignored real offers of co-operation. Shirley was the ablest imperial administrator in America and a sound commander-in-chief in succession to Braddock but was destroyed by a hostile coalition of colonial officials jealous of his power. Professor Gipson makes it clear that British officials in the colonies were at loggerheads to the extent of ruining the possibility of colonial co-operation. But he also shows that their actions reflected the desires of colonial assemblies as well as of their own personal ambitions.

For Canadians, perhaps the most interesting part of this book is the thorough discussion of the expulsion of the Acadians or "French neutrals." Professor Gipson regards the policy of transportation as inevitable in view of the intransigence of the Acadians themselves in the cause of an unworthy king who showed, by deliberately casting off their interests when peace was restored, that he did not have their welfare at heart. Under Britain, says Professor Gipson, the French in Nova Scotia enjoyed greater privileges than any other group in North America, having been permitted, in effect, to assume an attitude of neutrality for over forty years. He says that some of them were so stiff-necked in their "neutrality" that when

¹In the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIII, 137-40, Professor Nettels quotes Gipson's excerpt from the letter but not the sentence which introduced it, thus distorting the sense. In the same review he labelled as "altruism" the new imperialist policy which Gipson outlined in *Years of Defeat*, an interpretation which appears to ignore the fact that the Atlantic Colonies were British just as Canada was French, and that the new policy was protecting British interests although, as Professor Gipson points out, it was to accrue eventually to the advantage of the United States.

they returned to France after the war they endeavoured to assert it against the French king. On the other hand, Professor Gipson deals very sympathetically with the sufferings of the Acadians in their wanderings. He traces their migrations with great care and demonstrates that they were treated much worse by the southern colonies than by New York and New England. Had it not been for fear of offending the British government some colonies would have refused to accept them at all. As it was they permitted them to obtain boats and depart. The poor unfortunates, without pilots, and in crazy open-decked boats, struggled like wounded animals to return to the only home they knew, Nova Scotia. Some were successful, but many perished; and the remainder were held up, when almost in sight of their goal, by the authorities in the New England colonies. Professor Gipson performs a real service by his careful investigation and exposition of this dispersion.

Years of Defeat is essential reading for scholars of Canadian, American, and British history and it will interest the general reader. Like Parkman, Professor Gipson possesses the gift of clear yet detailed style. His power of narration has already been revealed in earlier volumes. This one, in which he comes to closer grips with his subject and in which he deals with the *minutiae* of a series of conflicting campaigns, is as clear and thrilling to read as Parkman's great volumes.

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L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada. By MARCEL TRUDEL. Tome I, 1760-1850. Tome II, 1850-1900. (Publications de l'Université Laval.) Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1945. Pp. 221; 315. (\$3.50)

THE publication of Marcel Trudel's able study of the influence of Voltaire in Canada is of major importance to Canadian historiography. The theme is not entirely novel as others, notably Séraphin Marion in *Les Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois*, have pointed out the Voltairian influences upon Canadian, i.e., French-Canadian, writing and thinking. No one before, however, has pursued the examination of this influence over nearly the whole range (1760-1900) of French-Canadian cultural development; nor with such thorough scholarship. M. Trudel's documentation is meticulous and extensive; any such study as this must be carefully documented or it can have no weight. The telling citations from Voltaire's works set beside Canadian writings must have taken long and painful hunting to discover but the cumulative impression left by the undeniable mass of evidence is strongly convincing. The greatest importance of this work for Canadian historical study does not lie, though, in the convincing nature of the author's argument, or in his scholarship, but in the fact that this is the most extensive and thorough venture into the history of ideas in Canada yet attempted.

Characteristically this study is a French-Canadian product. There has long been an interest in ideas and in the history of ideas in French Canada. This has been linked closely with the concern for the cultural survival of the French Canadians. In that respect it is to be noted that although M. Trudel entitles his work, *L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada*, he is exclusively concerned with French Canada. And at the end of his book he breathes a sigh of relief that Voltairianism has never really touched the French-Canadian rural population. This, he suggests, has been fortunate, since the farming class has thus proved the principal reservoir for the recruiting of the clergy, and the intellectual *élite* has been able to renew

itself by additions of sincere, well-endowed Christians from the rural more than from any other class. "Like the fabulous Antaeus the *élite* has revived its strength each time it has touched the earth." Since they have been primarily concerned with their own cultural survival French-Canadian historians have not made any effort to explore the intellectual and cultural history of English Canada. Nor indeed have English Canadians. Historians of the latter group have busied themselves with the study of Canada's political and constitutional development, and with economic and social themes. Consequently in English-Canadian historical writing there remains a great gap—the examination of English Canada's intellectual and cultural background. The appearance of a work such as M. Trudel's is a ringing challenge to English-Canadian historians to fill that gap.

Intrinsically M. Trudel's work is a significant contribution to the knowledge and interpretation of French-Canadian culture. It confirms emphatically what others have suggested that, though French Canada may be thought of as chiefly a preservation of seventeenth-century France, there has been a marked element of eighteenth-century *philosophe* rationalism present in French-Canadian thought right up to the twentieth century. The Voltairian current has risen and fallen and risen again in association with personalities, and with trends of intellectual fashion and political circumstances. Before 1760 there was a slow, calm Voltairian infiltration of "cultivated society" which after this date became "a vast flood" amongst the *élite*. This flood continued to flow for some fifty-five years being evident especially in the columns of the nascent press. After 1815 it began to lose volume, and about 1825 it seemed nearing its end. But if the volume dwindled, a new surge of strength came with the troubles of the eighteen-thirties, and was to be found in the writings and pronouncements of the *Patriotes*, notably Papineau and Garneau. We are interested to note here that M. Trudel finds Garneau's revised third edition "scarcely less Voltairian" than his first. A slump in Voltairian influence follows the Rebellion but a strong revival comes with the establishment of the Institut Canadien of Montreal. Under the leadership of Papineau and Dessaulles Voltairianism here took the form of a "war against the church" and the war was carried on "by the best pens of this epoch," reaching its culmination in the Guibord affair which was "a great Voltairian triumph over the Canadian church." Influenced by the Institut were such men as "Wilfrid Laurier, C.-A. Geoffrion, A.-A. Dorion, Adélard Turgeon." Yet despite hopes of seeing "Catholicism crumble" raised amongst the Voltairians of the Institut it was rather the Institut Canadien which disappeared suddenly and silently. At the end of the nineteenth century Voltairianism was still discernible in some quarters, amongst the group centring about the *Canada-Review*, and with such writers as Louis Fréchette and Benjamin Sulte, but in general it had sunk to a new low.

In spite of the excellence of this work one wonders if the author in his enthusiasm for his particular interest has not overstressed some points. Was there, for instance, such a "flood" of Voltairian influence as he suggests. He states that it affects only the "*élite*," that is to say, a very small proportion of the population. However, it must be agreed that in a society so endowed with a sense of authority as that of French Canada the social and cultural *élite*, though small in numbers, has always played a role quite unappreciated in English Canada where a similar state of affairs does not exist. One may wonder, too, if the author is wholly warranted in his conclusion that "Voltairianism seems to have been the sole organized and continuous literary movement in the period between 1760 and 1900; it is the only one in any case to possess almost uninterruptedly, a centre of activity and a press."

Although this is a qualified generalization it seems rather too strong as it stands in view of the fact that as yet no comparable examination of the influence of Romanticist writers, and especially of more traditional religious thinkers has been made. Indeed M. Trudel's work is a standing invitation to a great deal of further research in a field which, even in French Canada, is largely unexplored.

Fundamentally this is a scholarly work of eminent worth, one of which both the author and Laval University, where it was presented as a doctoral thesis, may be proud.

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Defeat in the West. By MILTON SHULMAN. With an introduction by Major-General Sir IAN JACOB. London: Secker and Warburg [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders]. 1947. Pp. xvi, 336. (\$3.50)

Maple Leaf Up, Maple Leaf Down: The Story of the Canadians in the Second World War. By PETER SIMONDS. New York: Island Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders]. 1946. Pp. viii, 356. (\$4.00)

Missing from the Record. By Colonel DICK MALONE, O.B.E. Toronto: Collins. 1946. Pp. xii, 227. (\$3.00)

"55 Axis": With the Royal Canadian Regiment, 1939-1945. By Major STROME GALLOWAY, E.D. With a foreword by Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. HOUGHTON. Montreal: Provincial Publishing Company. 1946. Pp. 232.

THESE four books dealing with different phases of the recent war are all written by Canadians who participated in it as Army officers, but they have little else in common. Mr. Shulman's is one of those specialized "interim studies" which will be welcomed by students of military history until more definitive works become available. The author covers his vast subject in a volume compact enough to appeal to the general reader, yet, despite some inevitable gaps, he has produced a well-balanced, well-written and well-documented account of the German Army's defeat in western Europe. Some of his story has, of course, been told elsewhere, but he bases the greater part of it on sources not available to the public. These include numerous Allied intelligence summaries, reviews, and reports and in particular the unique interrogation records secured by himself and another Intelligence Corps officer when they interviewed some twenty-four captured German generals (including von Rundstedt) on behalf of the Canadian Army's Historical Section. Handled by a writer of ability and discrimination, the results could not be other than interesting, but it must be a cause of some annoyance to the Official Historian, that this information, gleaned thanks to his foresight, should be published privately in England, long before it is possible to produce the official history.

Although relatively brief, Mr. Shulman's analysis of the German Army prior to 1944, is of real value because of the nature of his sources. His account of the strange relations between Hitler and the German General Staff is most revealing. Throughout the book he produces much evidence to prove the extraordinary extent to which Hitler directed the strategy and even the tactics of his various armies so that his generals were virtually paralysed. Another interesting revelation concerns the remarkable weakness of the Germans' military intelligence. This weakness constantly led them to overestimate the strength of the Western Allies, as in the summer of 1940 when they supposed that Britain was defended by thirty-nine divisions.

Mr. Shulman may be criticized for basing his account of operations so largely on the evidence of the captured generals, each with his own axe to grind. Nevertheless, these testimonies, many reproduced *verbatim*, are too important to be ignored and the author appears to have exercised his good judgment in making the selections.

Mr. Simonds covers much the same ground as did Mr. Ross Munro in *Gauntlet to Overlord*, but as was the case with his predecessor he has regrettably little or nothing to say about the latter parts of the Italian and the western European campaigns. Unfortunately his otherwise straightforward narrative of military operations is interrupted by rather awkward digressions to discuss such political questions as the conscription issue in Canada about which he does not seem to have any new authoritative information to offer.

Despite these shortcomings, Mr. Simonds has produced a surprisingly good account of the Canadian Army's operations, especially in the Normandy campaign, in which he participated from the beginning. His descriptions of the initial landings on the Norman beaches and of the carnage in the Falaise Gap are most realistic, while his operational narrative is illustrated by a number of well-chosen incidents based on his own observations or on the evidence of participants with whom he has talked. He writes primarily as a soldier and dwells on various technical aspects of the campaign, such as the use of new types of equipment, in a lucid and informative manner. He also pays particular attention to the enemy against whom the Canadian Army was fighting, discusses the phenomena of the U.S. troops with marked detachment, acutely observes the reactions of the Canadian soldiers to them, and contrasts the poor morale of some German static units with their fanatical fighting spirit. Although over-ambitious in scope and lacking in any documentation, this is undoubtedly the work of a very shrewd observer, whose style is clear and readable. Nor are his caustic comments on a certain clique in the Canadian Permanent Force without interest.

Colonel Malone makes no pretence of writing a general history of the war. Rather he proposes to provide "a little of the background information and colour" and to "fill in a few of the gaps in the official record." His experiences as a liaison officer at Eighth Army headquarters and later as the Canadian Army's Director of Public Relations on the Continent, not to mention his friendship with Colonel Ralston, qualify him to write an interesting book, but admittedly it lacks a central theme. Yet, among a number of distinctly separate themes that constantly recur throughout the narrative, none receives more attention than does the personality of Field Marshal Montgomery—invariably referred to as "Monty" or "Master"—which seems to obsess the author. Colonel Malone was in a good position to form a vivid impression of the British general and his book is rich in anecdotes according to the tradition of the Montgomery legend, some illuminating and some amusing, but not all to the credit of his hero.

The author's official connexions have also given him the opportunity of delving deeply into the subject of military politics, about which he undoubtedly speaks more freely than could the Official Historian, but, it would appear, with less sense of responsibility. He tells of misunderstandings between Generals Montgomery and Crerar in Italy, with himself playing the role of peacemaker; he reveals how he arranged an unofficial meeting between Montgomery and Mr. Mackenzie King in England; finally he explains the fall of McNaughton, Ralston's resignation, and the Canadian conscription issue in general, all from Colonel Ralston's point of view. Other chapters deal with military press problems and with his adventures in the Pacific.

Military operations are discussed but briefly, as a rule only when they involve some controversy, such as a unified Allied Army Command, or when they directly concern the author. Thus in connexion with the planning for the invasion of Sicily, in which he participated, he refers to the existence of a submerged sandbar, which, he says, caused the planners some concern despite reassurances on the matter; he later records that on landing there proved to be a sufficient depth of water over the bar. Apparently he has either forgotten or was unaware that last minute information, received while the invasion force was at sea, revealed that the eastern half of the bar formed a greater obstacle than expected, which caused a radical adjustment in the plans for the landing of the 1st Canadian Infantry Brigade. Colonel Malone also tells a colourful story of how, as a Brigade Major, he captured an Italian General and his staff, single-handed, but he makes no mention of the presence of Lieutenant-Colonel E. L. Booth, then commanding the Three Rivers Regiment and subsequently killed in action in Normandy, who, according to other accounts, accompanied him on this occasion.¹

Although Colonel Malone retains his war-time rank on the fly-leaf of his book, his instincts as a journalist seem to have overcome the reticence one might otherwise expect in a senior army officer. From a historian's point of view this may well be to the good, but the few inaccuracies noted in his chapter on the Sicilian campaign, not to mention a number of unfortunate slips in the spelling of names of places and persons, leads one to wonder whether the author's memory may not be equally fallible on other occasions. The book gives every indication of having been written largely from his recollections rather than from a diary or from personal papers.

Major Galloway's "*55 Axis*" while not an official regimental history, should be of interest to the friends and members of the Royal Canadian Regiment. On the whole it seems to be a readable and well balanced account, but the author's conscientious attention to changes in officer appointments and the innumerable names introduced into the narrative must necessarily reduce the general reader's interest in it.

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Canada's Battle in Normandy: The Canadian Army's Share in the Operations, 6 June-1 September 1944. By C. P. STACEY. (The Canadian Army at War series, no. 3.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1946. Pp. 159. (Paper, 25 cents; cloth, 50 cents)

THE Battle of Normandy has a fine dramatic unity that is appropriate to its historical significance. From the initiation of the invasion plans to the days that saw the broken German armies streaming in flight toward the frontiers, the sense of tremendous issues hanging in the balance is sustained and deepened, until it is resolved in a climax which, to borrow the words of General Montgomery, is "definite, complete and decisive."

In these great events the Canadians played a vital part which was a worthy contribution to the triumphant outcome. In this, the third of the booklets in the official series "The Canadian Army at War," Colonel Stacey has told the story in a

¹These two incidents are alluded to in the Department of National Defence's publication *Pachino to Ortona* (Ottawa, 1945) and fully documented in the official files of the Army's Historical Section.

narrative that is admirably designed to provide the general reader with a brief and authoritative account. It is told clearly and simply, yet with an excellent sense of balance and perspective. Without any effort at the type of descriptive journalism that one finds, for example, in Ross Munro's vivid description of the landing in *Gauntlet to Overlord*, it succeeds in conveying the dramatic quality of the operations, and the gruelling nature of the struggle that was sustained from the first assault on the beaches to the closing of the Falaise gap.

Not the least valuable quality of this booklet is the rounded presentation which sets the Canadian contribution in its true proportion against the background of the operation as a whole. Colonel Stacey selects and emphasizes the salient features which set the pattern for the invasion and the subsequent campaign. There is a brief account of the evolution of the plans for Operation Overlord, including the organization of the invasion expedition, and this is linked with the organization and training over a protracted period of the Canadian forces that were to take part. The general plan of campaign is traced, and the respective roles assigned to the British and American forces are indicated in a way that clarifies the part allotted to the Canadians.

The significance of that part hardly needs to be emphasized. The vital importance of the Caen hinge was clear from the start, and the desperate efforts of the enemy to prevent a breakthrough at that spot were pivotal in the strategy of the Normandy campaign. Canadian and British pressure not only facilitated the American conquest of Cherbourg and the breakthrough at St. Lô; it slowly but inexorably forced the Germans to give ground in spite of their concentration of armour for defensive purposes in a more intensive degree than had ever before been seen in warfare. These methods, which on successive occasions balked the Allies of the gains on which they had calculated, bore more directly on the Canadians than on any other body of troops in the campaign. Colonel Stacey traces the story from the first check before Caen through the struggle for that town and the assault toward Falaise—the period which saw the II Corps, and then the First Canadian Army, brought into operation—and his final section deals with the pursuit along the coast up to the capture of Dieppe.

In a fuller and more critical study, there are of course matters which would call for much more discussion and analysis than is possible in a work of this character. For instance, there was the bogging-down of the British attack in mid-July after the premature announcement of a breakthrough, and the slowness of exploitation which helped to bring disappointment after the first promising success in the attack toward Falaise, and the delay in closing the Falaise-Argentan gap. But these are matters of controversy which can hardly be tackled adequately in a brief and straightforward narrative such as this one—though Colonel Stacey's phrasing indicates on more than one occasion his awareness of the points that would have to be dealt with in a more definitive work.

The volumes in this series have done a useful service in making available at an early stage accounts of certain salient aspects of Canada's military effort. The first booklet, *The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1944*, dealt with the buildup of the Canadian forces overseas, the creation of the command organization of the Canadian First Army, and the long and intensive period of preparation which preceded the entry of Canadian troops into major operations. The second booklet outlined the campaign in Sicily and the operations in Italy up to the winter of 1943. Both these volumes have been issued in a new edition which embodies a number of minor changes in the interests of clarity and accuracy, and French translations have

also appeared. Like the volume on Normandy, they aimed at presenting a clear and straightforward account of Canada's military activities in these distinct phases, and their high degree of success in this effort is of good augury for the more comprehensive historical treatment that is still to come.

This particular series comes to an end with the volume under review. The story is still only half told, but the main purpose of such individual productions—the desire to provide interim narratives of certain major operations without waiting for the official history—has now largely been served. Instead of continuing to produce instalments, it has been decided to bring out in the near future a single volume of much the same popular character, which will give in simple but authentic outline the whole story of Canada's army overseas. A more comprehensive official history in four volumes is also under way, and the fourth volume will provide a general survey of military policy covering all three services. Together with the volumes that are in preparation on the navy and the air force, these will offer the Canadian people a well-rounded body of information covering the armed services in the recent war. Though they will have the advantage over the earlier booklets of fuller information, particularly from enemy sources, they still may not be definitive, but they will unquestionably be authoritative, and will form an impressive record of Canada's war effort in the many theatres of operations where her armed forces were engaged.

EDGAR MCINNIS

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Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679-1684. First Part, 1679-82. Edited by E. E. RICH. With an introduction by G. N. CLARK. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1945. Pp. xlv, 378, xv.

THIS is the first part of an important selection of the early Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company. It throws much light on its early operations, methods, and the relationships between the governing authority and the men on the ground, which will be of immense value to future students. It would be almost impertinent even to commend the editorial work of Mr. Rich. Its value is further enhanced by the introduction from Professor G. N. Clark, whose knowledge of later Stuart England has few rivals; and this, moreover, has been revised by Miss A. M. Johnson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, "who knows their records as no one else does." The customary high standards of Champlain Society *format* and production are worthily maintained.

The reviewer's feeling is that, apart from the specialist student's needs, some of the most remarkable features of the minutes are in their unconscious revelations. There was a superb detachment about these commercial adventurers. We are in the precise era of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill, Black Boxes, "brisk boys," Titus Oates, the "Protestant joiner," and all the rest of the stage cast of Macaulay's tremendous drama. Some of the Committees must have sat with the roars of the mobs around the scaffold audible only a few streets away. One of its later victims, Henry Cornish,¹ appears among a list of the stockholders of 1682. Yet there is never a hint of all this. It resembles John Stow's *Survey of London*, the work of a citizen and resident of the City during the birth-agonies of the English Reformation, the only notice of which is a line in the catalogue of London's bishops, in which Stow's own opinions are undiscoverable.

¹T. B. Macaulay, *History of England*, chap. V.

It is not altogether easy to form any sound general conclusions as to the Company's broad policy and methods in these years of "trial and error." There were apparently ill-judged leniencies, and perhaps equally impolitic inflexibilities. It was a most happy editorial decision to include Governor Nixon's *Report* of 1682 from Hudson's Bay to the Governor and Committee in London. This is probably the most valuable and unquestionably the most interesting feature of the volume. While Professor Clark is possibly right in suggesting (p. xxii) that Nixon may have made his picture too black, nevertheless many details in the Minutes do appear to dovetail in with his criticisms in a manner which tends to furnish support to his complaints. It is difficult to evade a general impression that here once again, "better be governed by Satan on the spot than by an angel in Downing Street!"

Governor Nixon's complaints of them allowing his most essential craftsmen, smiths, toolmakers, bricklayers, etc. to return home without sending him others to take their places, seem to be borne out by the quite frequent pleas in the Minutes for So-and-so's husband or son to be permitted to do so (before the expiration of his term?) and the almost invariable consent of the Committee without any mention of a substitute. There is a familiar ring about his suggestion that edge tools could often be better made on the ground by men who were in close touch with those who were to use them and who best knew the requirements. Professor Clark observes that "from the minutes and accounts we should hardly guess that the choice of goods was sometimes open to serious criticism. . ." (p. xxxiv). Nixon is quite specific here. He desires that "you send not such lumber (*i.e.* 'trash') as wasts your mony and taketh up your fraught to no uce (*viz.*) tyles, pins, laths, slit-deales, &c, which we wryt not for, but your giving head to othermens words, I humbly beg your honors that you will give head to my advice heerin. . ." (p. 247).³ His preference for "shingles"³ (which they could make for themselves) rather than tiles for roofing—these apparently needing to be set in mortar, for which they must burn their own lime—seems incontrovertible. So also do his remarks on packing their pots and pans, gunnery, and other breakables in casks of loose peas, hops, etc., to cushion the precious wares against damage. Common-sense suggestions of this character furnish strong presumption of the soundness of his arguments in the *Report* at large.

London could at times be too exactly literal. Nixon complains—one would say justly, unless his facts are deliberate falsehoods—that after finding it necessary at Hudson Bay to promote employees to higher positions than those of their original contract, and regardless of loyal and competent service rendered in their advanced capacity, the Committee on their return home refused them any higher remuneration than that specified in their initial agreement. George Simpson himself, to whom this kind of thing was familiar,⁴ could perhaps have had little to teach to

³"May 7, 1680: Ordered to drawe a Bill upon Sr. Robert Cleyton for 64 li. 18s. to Edward Helder Bricklayer for 34000 Tyles; 6000 Bricks; 240 Ridge Tyles, 40 bundles Lathes and 9 Bushells Tylepins" (*Minutes*, 61).

⁴An interesting example of its later use in England, where it is now obsolete, unless the late war has revived it. The term is common in thirteenth to fourteenth-century Forest Records (e.g., "two straight-grained oaks for shingles for Queen Eleanor's new house at Lyndhurst," 1279) and Churchwardens' Accounts. It is the origin of Singleton (*Domesday Book*, 1086; *Schingletona*, 1168). So J. B. Johnston, *Place-Names of England and Wales* (London, 1915), 445; pl. n. references to shingled houses from 1252 onward in *Sussex*, 221; *North Riding, Yorkshire*, 61; *Essex*, 24, 476; *Hertfordshire*, 195 (all from English Place-Name Society, *Survey of English Place-Names* (Cambridge, Eng., 1924).

⁵See E. H. Oliver, *The Canadian North West* (2 vols., Ottawa, 1914-15), 643-871.

some of those men.

The spelling is that of rugged individualists. It would suggest that the famous definition of a dictionary-maker as a "harmless drudge" was something more than a mere gem of Johnsonese coinage, and very possibly indicated his general status in contemporary estimation in more than one age; much like the "crank" spelling reformer of our own day. The many pre-Johnsonian dictionaries wrought little change. Chesterfield's suggestion of a pontifical Dictatorship of the English Language for Johnson—even though his overtures were contemptuously spurned by the offended sage—would almost seem to have taken effect *de facto*; and the volume before us gives us some conception of the wide-spread nature of the change.

We meet those familiar phenomena of medieval spelling, the variant forms almost in the same line.⁵ In the same Minute, *Barham* is *Barram*, *Baram*; as also are *Tatnam*, *Tatneham*, elsewhere *Tatnham* and *Totnam*. *Phipps* is similarly *Phips* and *Piphs* in the same entry. Another instance is Colonel *Meese*, *Mees* (also *Mease* and *Meeze*; whose regular abbreviation "Cololl." indicates the Miltonic pronunciation of "colonel.") We have *Pascall*, *Paschall*, *Pasckall*; *Carnal*, *Carnall*, *Carnoll*, *Carnor*, all the same individual; *Tisson*, *Tyssen*, *Tyson*, *Tysson*; *Bridger* as *Bredgar*, *Bridgar*, *Bridgare*, *Bridges*; *Tyndale*, *Tyndall*, *Tryndall*; *Cobbett*, *Cobbie*, *Cobby*, *Cobbitt*, *Cobie*; Captain *Zachariah Gilliam*, *Gillham*, *Gillam*, *Guillam*, of the *Nonsuch*; and the *yauch*, *yacht*, *yaucht*, *yaught*, *Collet*, *Colleton*, *Collington*, *Collinton*, *Collintone*, *Collition*, and *Colliton*. *Sanford*, *Sanson*, *Thackster*, *Thaxter*, are in the same documents; and the same man is *Broanson*, *Brounson*, *Brownson*, *Brownston*. There are *Elinor Vernon* wife of *Hugh Verner*; *Rebecca Kildale* wife of *Thomas Kildale*; and "*James Blaymire* sonn of *Henery Blaymier Gunsmith*." These variations reappear in most of their forms again and again, and by no means exhaust the list.

There is another side to all this. It was not until about 1920 or so, we believe, that clerical or orthographical error as potential ground for nullification in legal documents was abolished in English law. Nonsuit in court for this cause is noted at least as far back as 1293, 1313.⁶ Spelling must have furnished a rich harvest-field for this type of legal chicanery; and doubtless in Restoration London there was no lack of the tribe of Dodson and Fogg. Neither could a trading corporation which appears to have associated extensively with people bearing such "phanatickal" names as *Zachariah*, "*Ezekell*," *Jeremiah*, *Onesiphorus*, "*Josua*," or "*Bazilla*" (even if *Nehemiah Walker* departed from grace: p. 268), not to speak of "*Hopefor Bendall*"—anticipate any special immunities from such jurists as *Scroggs* or *Jeffreys*. It seems probable that the high desirability of a friend at court—both the royal and judicial species of "court"—would go far to explain the names on the stockholders' list of the King's brother and nephew, and of such powerful courtiers as *Albemarle*, *Craven*, and *Bennet*, *Lord Arlington* of the "*Cabal*." Amid all the transferences of the Company's stock (p. xxiii), it may be noted that their combined

⁵Cf. *Lathbury Church*, Buckinghamshire, Eng., 1680: "Here Elizabeth Lee of Leigh, Barrones of Stonly (Stoneleigh, Warwick) in her father's grave lyeth." An interesting commentary on the Baconian legend of the "illiterate boor Shakespeare, who couldn't even spell!"

⁶In 1313 a suit against the Bishop of Lichfield concerning pasture rights in "*Canok*" (*Cannock*, Staffordshire) was dismissed on his plea that the vill was "*Cannok*." A suit between two clerics in 1293 concerning land in "*Ake*" (*Oaken*, Staffordshire) was similarly dismissed on the Dean of Wolverhampton's contention that the name should be "*Oke*." "*The Staffordshire Plea Rolls contain many instances of this*" (W. H. Duignan, *Notes on Staffordshire Place Names*, London, New York, 1902, 32, 109).

holdings only equalled that of Sir James Hayes (p. 307); and the totals of the first four remained unchanged throughout the years here dealt with, possibly for much longer. A *douceur* of £1500 in stock and the honours of *York Factory* and *Rupert's Land* would be a cheap price for such powerful protection.

There are some amusing *minutiae*. It is interesting to encounter the demonstrator of "Boyle's Law" in physics among the stockholders, and Sir Christopher Wren (*alias* Wrenn) as a company director. It is tempting to imagine in "Wilkinson, edge-tool maker," an ancestor of the famous Wilkinson Sword dynasty (one of whose swordsmiths, Tom Beasley, was c. 1930 of the fourth or fifth generation in their service). "Wm. Chub" may possibly be a forbear of contemporary members of that name on the Hudson's Bay Company official staffs in Edmonton and Victoria, B.C. respectively. And "Mr. Bun the Baker" (of "Happy Families") is utterly eclipsed by "Master Wm. *Batch*" of the same occupation! Altogether a curious chronicle of corporate and human interest. We look forward to the continuation of the series.

F. G. ROE

Les Archives de folklore: Recueil semestriel de traditions Françaises d'Amérique.
No. I. (Publications de L'Université Laval.) Montréal: Éditions Fides.
1946. Pp. 202.

THE appearance of this new review marks the centenary of the name "folklore." The development of that branch of history has been increasingly rapid during the past century both in Europe and in America. So far as Canada is concerned it has been mostly French Canadians who have interested themselves in the study of folklore, and among French-Canadian folklorists the name of Marius Barbeau is pre-eminent. We are not surprised, therefore that the director of the new review should state in his Presentation that "The *Archives de Folklore* has no other intention than to continue, to enrich and to point up the monumental work of M. Barbeau." He explains further that this review will have a "scientific character," and will be devoted to the study of the "folklore of the French of America, in its present state, its European origins, its creations, its relations with Indian and Anglo-Saxon civilizations, its alterations, and in its undeniable character of ethnic indicator." Folklore, he tells us, without neglecting "influences" and "experiences" is "primarily concerned with traditions." "In the midst of the transformations which, more and more, are imposing their laws upon our upset world, it is concerned to conserve for civilization the excellent things of the past." In the end the new review is offered "to all those who have at heart the reintegration and preservation of our traditional patrimony." Thus, as with so much other historical writing in French Canada, this new review is linked with the ever-conscious attempt to preserve French culture on this continent.

The editorial board consists of Luc Lacourcière, well-known young member of the staff of Laval University, as director; Madeleine Doyon as secretary; and Marius Barbeau, François Brassard, Jacques Rousseau, Félix-Antoine Savard as associates. The subscription rate is to be \$5.00 a year in Canada, \$6.00 a year outside. There will be two numbers each year.

The articles included in this first beautifully-printed and well-illustrated volume are as follows: three by Marius Barbeau—a study of the Canadian Madonna, "Notre-Dame de Recouvrance," under whose protection the Corporation of Folklorists has placed itself; an article on the "Confrérie des menuisiers de

Madame Sainte Anne," with a documentary appendix, and a second appendix, entitled "La vieille Magicienne," the latter being a folksong for which Luc Lacourcière provides the critical text and notes, and Marguerite Béclard d'Harcourt the musical analysis; thirdly an article on "La Fritillaire impériale," the symbol chosen by the Corporation. In a fourth article M. Barbeau co-operates with Jeannine Bélanger in a study of "La Césure épique dans nos chansons populaires" to which again Marguerite Béclard d'Harcourt adds an appendix of musical analyses. Other articles are: "Nos Hérités provinciales françaises" by Archange Godbout, o.m.i.; "Refrains canadiens de chansons de France" by François Brasseur; "Notes sur l'ethnobotanique d'Anticosti" by Jacques Rousseau; "The French Colony at Brunswick, Maine: A Historical Sketch" by William N. Locke; "Le Costume traditionnel féminin," documents beaucerons, collected and presented by Madeleine Doyon; "Les Dires des vieillards" by Victor Tremblay; "Trois Contes populaires canadiens" by Marie-Rose Turcot; a critical study of the folksong, "Les Écoliers de Pontoise" by Luc Lacourcière, with a musical analysis by Rosette Renshaw; and "Le Folklore et l'histoire" by Luc Lacourcière and Félix-Antoine Savard.

This last mentioned article, delivered originally as a lecture at the Deuxième Semaine d'Histoire which honoured the centenary of Garneau in Montreal in 1945, is a sort of manifesto. It declares the importance of folklore studies, belabours historians for neglecting the investigation of the lives of the common people, affirms the prime significance of oral tradition, asserts the aim of the folklorists to discover "the essential laws" of human action, and ends with a paraphrase of Paul Valéry's dictum, "Comment pouvait-on vivre à telle époque?", which reads here, "Comment pouvait-on survivre à telle époque de notre passé?" Although we cannot agree with the authors of this article that historians have neglected the study of the common people quite as much as they suggest, we do know that there is a vast amount of work to be done in that field, and we admire the enthusiasm with which they and their colleagues have launched their campaign to foster that work. We could hope that the new review might eventually extend an invitation to English-Canadian students to enter its pages, a hope raised by the bilingual character of this first number. At any rate this new venture of Laval University merits good fortune and prosperity.

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto.

History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820. 2 vols. By CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM. Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society. 1947. Pp. xvii, 1508. (\$15.00)

WHEN, in 1937, the Bibliographical Society of America mothered to press the imposing tome entitled *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*, the editors explained that recordings had not been made prior to 1821 because Dr. Clarence S. Brigham was conducting exhaustive research in this earlier field and would soon be publishing the results of his study in readily available form. The two-volume publication under review is this promised work. The product of thirty-five years of arduous bibliographical ferretting, it can scarcely be called less than monumental in the field of Americana. For Canadian scholars its historical worth is not appreciably less.

Historically it opens an area of source material heretofore almost totally ignored in the writing of the story of our developing nation—the flood of newspapers

issuing from the "border states" during the peak years of French-British-Yankee rivalry on this continent. Of the 2,120 American papers found to have been published in the period, approximately half issued from states touching the present Canadian border. The interest of the latter in the empire problems of the new country was naturally keen, so that their pages carry a running contemporary account of the political, commercial, agricultural, literary, social, and religious inter-play between the forming nations. This account is impulsive, opinionative, and coloured by American prejudice and exaggeration to be sure; but because of this all the more a faithful reflector of the forces which worked to separate our interests from those of our neighbours to the south.

Dr. Brigham has exerted every effort to make his bibliography useful to the scholar. The basic arrangement of materials is geographical, first by states, then by cities. In this geographical arrangement a brief historical account is given of each paper, with exact dates of changes of title and names of publishers. This is followed by a most remarkable checklist of files located in American libraries. Only 194 of the 2,120 papers have eluded location in any library. Another 196 are located only by unique issues in single libraries. The rest have been located in files sufficiently complete and handily situated to remove all excuse for failure to use them as historical sources in the future. To make the work still more useful there are appended to the second volume a 173-page alphabetical index of titles and a 142-page index of printers and publishers.

What more could the scholar ask for in the way of bibliographical help in the field? Only one thing—that with this work to serve as exemplar Canadian librarians and historians will redouble their efforts to help Dr. Jean Lunn bring to completion her projected "History and Bibliography of Canadian Newspapers before 1821." Then both sides of the press story of early Canadian-American relationships will be an open book for diligent researchers.

McMaster University.

GAYLORD P. ALBAUGH

Studies of British Newspapers and Periodicals from Their Beginning to 1800: A bibliography. By KATHERINE KIRTLEY WEED and RICHMOND PUGH BOND. *Studies in Philology*, Extra series no. 2, Dec., 1946.) Pp. vi, 233. (Paper, \$2.50; cloth, \$3.50)

SOME 2,500 different newspapers and periodicals were issued in Great Britain before 1800. They are known through lists published mainly between the two world wars. The present bibliography complements these lists by recording 1,585 works about the newspapers and periodicals, their editors, authors, publishers, etc. and on such subjects as advertising, and freedom of the press in Britain before 1800. The works recorded are mainly those seen by the authors in libraries along the American Atlantic seaboard. So one appreciates their availability to scholars in North America even as one regrets the omission of others less accessible to the authors during the recent war years. At the end is a "selection" of similar works on the European, and the North and Latin American press. Of the eighteen items on Canadian newspapers before 1800, all except one (on the Stamp Act) are included in Dr. Jean Lunn's more comprehensive "Bibliography of the Canadian Press", in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, December, 1941. Weed and Bond is, however, a useful aid to students beginning research in many fields and reminds us that the University of Chicago's Commission on the Freedom of the Press has a disconcertingly long ancestry in critics of one of the "mass media."

Washington, D.C.

MARIE TREMAINE

John Kerr. By CONSTANCE KERR SISSONS. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 282. (\$2.50)

I Remember. By W. A. GRIESBACH. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. vi, 353. (\$4.50)

BOTH of these books deal with the early history of Western Canada. Both of them contain the reminiscences of men who knew the plains in the days of the buffalo, the Indian, the métis, and the North West Mounted Police. As a rule pioneers are not articulate. Their experiences, however interesting, all too often pass into oblivion and useful source material on the early days of the country is lost to historians. There are, however, exceptions and these two books are among them.

The first book, written by the niece of the man whose name provides the title, is a biography of a pioneer Canadian, born in Perth, Ontario, in 1851, who, after distorting the visage of Prince Arthur while acting as a photographer's assistant, enlisted in the 1st Battalion, Ontario Rifles, and went with that battalion to Red River in 1870. After discharge he joined the Manitoba Constabulary. Later he went to the Saskatchewan country where he spent some time in Gabriel Dumont's camp at St. Laurent. Here he was known as "le petit Canada." In 1873 he acted as guard to Ambroise Lépine when Louis Riel's erstwhile lieutenant was on trial for his part in the death of Thomas Scott. Returning to the prairies Kerr accompanied Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris to the North Saskatchewan on the occasion of the negotiation of Treaty 6 with the Cree Indians of that region. Finally, having been soldier, policeman, hunter, clerk, trader, prison guard, interpreter, guide, teamster, and farmer in Western Canada, he returned to Perth where he lived an unexciting forty years as town clerk. He died in 1940.

The author has quoted fairly liberally from John Kerr's letters and notes (written apparently in later life) and it is no intended slight to her to say that these excerpts are the most useful portion of the book to the historian. The fact is that John Kerr saw little of the big events of early western Canadian history: but what he did see and record was what is so often missing from formal historical accounts—intimate sketches of life in the ranks of the Red River Expedition, of the early history of Winnipeg, of the activities of a half-breed camp, of the buffalo hunt, of the aboriginal peoples of the plains. Through the pages of this book pass such notable figures as those of M. le Vicomte Louis Frasse de Plainval, chief of police in Manitoba; Gabriel Dumont, métis commander at Batoche; Ambroise Lépine, member of Riel's provisional government at Fort Garry 1869-70; and Big Bear, chief of the rebellious Crees in 1885.

General Griesbach's book is the more interesting of the two. The writer was born in an Indian teepee at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1878. He was reared in a moss bag and passed his boyhood at Fort Saskatchewan where his father, who had signed No. 1 with the North West Mounted Police, was stationed in 1883. He was educated at St. John's College School, Winnipeg, and studied law in Edmonton. He served with the Canadian forces during three wars; he was created a K.C. "for the simple reason that the then Attorney-General had once done me a dirty trick and was sorry for it"; and lived to become a senator.

There is much in this book for which we may be grateful. John Kerr gives us a quick glimpse of the life of the métis; General Griesbach gives us a good look at the activities of the settlers at Fort Qu'Appelle, Fort Pelly, and Fort Saskatchewan, during the heroic period of western history. In this autobiography we find intimate and sometimes illuminating stories of the North West Mounted Police, of Fort Saskatchewan during the rebellion of 1885, of Edmonton and Strathcona in their

adolescence, of the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles in South Africa; stories of people, military muddling, and Territorial politics. It is regrettable that the book comes to an abrupt end at 1914. We would have welcomed General Griesbach's reminiscences of Canadian political life between wars and his comments on Canada's military policies in 1914-18 and 1939-45.

The narrative is well salted with good stories told with a zest, in which appear such well-known characters of early Western Canadian life as Paddy Nolan and Dave McDougall. Here and there we find grains of good common sense. The General's literary style is not above criticism; it is simple, conversational, and colloquial in manner, often rambling and inconsequential. But the figures who pass before the reader are drawn to real life.

Neither of these books is unbiased history. John Kerr and General Griesbach shared all the prejudices of actual participants in the events which they describe. The personal note is always predominant. Reminiscence, especially in old age, is all too frequently poor history. In the opinion of this reviewer, however, both books provide the historian with useful source material; both of them throw side-lights on pioneer conditions in a Western Canada which has passed away.

It is probable that, since neither book was intended to serve the purpose of formal history, an index was felt to be unnecessary. This is always an unfortunate omission. The absence of a table of contents from General Griesbach's book is unexplainable and unforgivable.

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY

The University of British Columbia.

The Story of a Family through Eleven Centuries, being a History of the Family of Gorges. By RAYMOND GORGES. Illustrated by portraits and pedigrees. Based on material prepared by the Reverend FREDERICK BROWN. Boston: Privately printed [Mrs. Raymond Gorges, 30 Old Beach Road, Newport, Rhode Island]. 1944. Pp. xxiv, 277.

THE subject of this book would seem at first sight to be rather far removed from the normal sphere of interest of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Its point of contact with Canadian history is as a study of a continuous thread in the development of the English-speaking world from its first beginning to the present. The continuity in the succession of the family name makes possible the portrayal of the history of this Gorges family from the eleventh to the twentieth centuries. Rarely can one make so complete a study. It is typical of the history of thousands of other families whose particular contribution has been made to Canadian development but whose story can never be traced.

A justifiable pride in his family led the late Raymond Gorges to narrate the history of his family from the earliest known ancestor who bore the name, Ralph de Gorges, a "companion of the Conqueror," down to the last two male heirs, himself and a young South African. The Gorges produced in these centuries a host of men who featured in various ways in the history of their country. Among them, Sir Thomas was Keeper of the Robes to Queen Elizabeth while his wife was her personal confidant; Nicholas was Captain of the London flotilla sent against the Armada; Sir Arthur was a court poet and a companion of Raleigh at the Azores; Sir Fernando, a veteran of the wars in France and the Low Countries, was commander of the fort built at Plymouth in fear of the Spaniard and spent a fortune with little reward in the work of American colonization.

The fact that this particular family began in Normandy at the time of the Conquest and, after a continuous association with the history of England in all its facets including seventeenth century American colonization, is now represented by a sole survivor in South Africa (it might equally well have been Canada), is a reminder of the essential continuity of the history of the growth of William's Norman England into the present-day Great Britain, the United States, and the British Dominions. It is also a reminder that, to a large extent, that growth had been the product of the activities of the class to which Gorges belonged, the minor landed gentry of England, a class which, like the Gorges family itself, seems to be fast dying out. To Raymond Gorges the present time appeared to be the end of an epoch. These "difficult and uncomfortable" days were to him like the chaos of the early middle ages out of which his family and his country had sprung. Yet his kinsman in South Africa may perhaps be the herald of a new age, perhaps of a better age, and the Gorges family itself may yet recover its former lustre.

The author of this book tells us that when he began his task he was a stranger to the methods of historical research and was tempted to take short cuts towards his goal. As he went on his zeal and curiosity were alike aroused. He became a painstaking inquirer, leaving no stone unturned, no thread unfollowed. Yet despite the detail which he turned up and expounded in his book he revealed a flare for dramatic narrative. The book, which was published from the manuscript which he had completed before his death, is beautifully produced and illustrated. It is a fitting monument not merely to his family pride but also to his zest in the search for truth.

R. A. PRESTON

The University of Toronto.

G. A. Reid, *Canadian Artist*. By MURIEL MILLER MINER. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1946. Pp. xvi, 230. (\$5.00)

THE value of this book depends on one's definition of what constitutes a Canadian artist. In this reviewer's opinion, the work of G. A. Reid cannot be regarded, by any aesthetic yardstick, as other than that of a moderately competent practitioner in the field of illustration. Such an exhaustive full-dress biography, complete with catalogue *raisonné*, argues that both author and publisher are taking themselves very seriously indeed. It is the kind of seriousness which ends by leaving Canadian art criticism without any standards at all.

Mrs. Miner clearly has a personal affection for her subject. But no amount of affection, nor the use of phrases which most critics would employ sparingly even when discussing the works of Constable, Velasquez, or Cezanne, can enhance the mediocre quality of Reid's work. In fact, Mrs. Miner's uncritical acceptance of his entire output serves only to emphasize what any discerning student of Canadian art already knows: that Reid will be remembered as the painter of "The Foreclosure of the Mortgage."

Had Mrs. Miner been content to accept for Reid this position of the Sir Luke Fildes of Canadian painting—a position by no means without interest—we might have had a more readable book. Instead, her sincere but thoroughly wrong-headed attempt to elevate Reid to the stature of a master (even to the collection and iteration of scores of pedestrian anecdotes in a life marked neither by fine creative achievement nor by vividness of interest in other fields) does a disservice to Canadian art criticism.

The reason for biography lies either in the greatness of the subject and his work, or in the development of the subject as a *character*, irrespective of the merit of his output. But on the second count, too, Mrs. Miner fails. One does not feel, at the end of her book, that one really knows Reid, or that he was really worth knowing. Such, I am sure, is not the actual case. This impression could have been corrected if Mrs. Miner had kept a sense of proportion and her feet on the ground. Because she did not, her book, for all the care in its preparation, borders on the ludicrous, as well as being uncommonly dull reading.

Ottawa.

GRAHAM MCINNES

The Assiniboine Basin: A Social Study of the Discovery, Exploration, and Settlement of Manitoba. By MARTIN KAVANAGH. With many illustrations and maps. Brandon: The author, 449 Second St. 1946. Pp. xviii, 284. (\$5.00)

THIS book, though ostensibly a historo-geographic study of a river basin, covers in reality the history of Brandon and its environs. The first few chapters outline the story of the discovery and exploration of the prairies—Indian tribes, La Vérendrye, fur traders, Souris-Assiniboine forts, the Pemican war, John Pritchard, David Thompson, Alexander Henry, John Macdonell, and the half-breeds. Little new material is presented but what has already appeared in secondary sources in so far as it related to the Brandon area has been gathered together.

The next few chapters set forth the preliminaries of settlement such as the work of H. Y. Hind, the Red River Rebellion, the construction of railways, and the coming of the settlers themselves. Especially valuable is the discussion of the rise of Grand Valley, the "Nova Scotia settlement," and its subsequent collapse when the railway by-passed it for nearby Brandon. Important also is the consideration of the rise and decline of steamboat traffic along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers which coincided with the beginning and end of the early pioneering stage.

The remainder of the book deals with the development of municipal and social services in Brandon, a typical prairie city. The setting-up of county, town, and eventually a city council, the planning and financing of the city, law and order, education, religion, health, and the press are all considered. In the appendices the names of local officials, etc. are given. The *format* of the book is first rate and the index accurate but the bibliography is incomplete there being no references to the *Canadian Historical Review*, the "Pioneer Problems" series, or even to *Canada and Its Provinces*. There are a large number of useful maps and photographs.

It can be seen that this book is reminiscent of the county histories of Ontario. It presents material of great interest to the people in the area concerned. It fails, however, in its stated objective of continually keeping in mind "that physical geography has influenced the history and economic development of the Assiniboine basin." For example, there is little or no discussion of how climate, soils, and other geographic factors have influenced the choice of farm products and agricultural practices, the layout of farms, or the progress of settlement. This defect is not entirely that of the author because social scientists as a group have not yet been able effectively to integrate geography, history, civics, and economics into a new discipline, "social studies." It is a welcome sign that Mr. Kavanagh and, it is hoped, other high school teachers are beginning to participate in the process of lending greater unity to the social sciences.

The University of Toronto.

A. W. CURRIE

'T aint Runnin' No More: *The Story of Grand Bend the Pinery and the Old River Road*. By WILLIAM SHERWOOD FOX. Frontispiece by MIRIAM FOX SQUIRES. Illustrations by CLARE BICE. London: Wendell Holmes, 1946. Pp. xvi, 55.

PRESIDENT FOX's essay appeared originally in the transactions of the Royal Society and has now been reprinted with additions and illustrations. Here is local history with a difference: the author makes no mention of the first horse or the last wolf and scorns "names, dates, places and battles long ago." "If a song without words," he writes, "may still be a song, may not a tale without the usual gear still be history?" In this account of the Rivière aux Sables the *dramatis personae* are winds and waves, glaciers and erosion, birds and the seeds they carry in their migrations, and man, the blundering friend and enemy of nature. The Rivière aux Sables flows into Lake Huron at its southeast corner; hitherto a comparatively unknown stream, having found its historian—and one may add its poet and philosopher—the Aux Sables may henceforth count herself (to the author this river is feminine) among Horace's *nobilium fontium*. Botany and geology and a long and loving acquaintance with the region watered by the river have changed the college president into a disciple of White of Selborne—he makes nature articulate; he is also an archaeologist and at the moment an enthusiastic explorer of Huronia; Champlain and the Sulpicians appear in his narrative; with the bifocal vision of a man who has both English and French-Canadian ancestors he notes with interest early colonies of *Canadiens* from Quebec; but in general man and his doings appear in these pages like climate and the seasons—he builds and he destroys. Rising in the northeastern part of Huron County, after meandering for three hundred miles through three counties, the Aux Sables reaches its outlet only fifty miles from its source; there are no tuneful place-names along the valley; Zurich, Crediton, Exeter, Centralia, Parkhill, Mud Creek, Port Franks are heterogeneous and lacking in romance. As its mouth approaches the historian has richer material: the Gorge near Arkona is famous for beautiful Devonian corals and fossil brachiopods; in the triangle between Port Franks, Grand Bend (now a summer resort), and Dead River the author finds and describes an earthly paradise where man's blunders and nature's triumphs have created a tropical oasis which charms the eye, delights the botanist, and provokes musings and meditations truly poetical. Archaeology confirms the author's speculations about Stony Point and its flint factory where all the tribes traded from New York to Michigan (may it not be that the name KAREGNONDI which appears on Sanson's 1656 map as the Indian name of Lake Huron had its origin here?; the name means Stony Point). Two suggestions may be made; if Champlain, according to a tradition which the author does not support, really visited the shores of Lake Huron it is likely that he came by land or by the portage at the head of Colpoy's Bay which is indicated in D'Anville's map, and not around the Bruce peninsula; the second Galinée map of the lake region is more conclusive than the first in proving that the Sulpicians explored the river from Port Franks to Grand Bend.

PERCY J. ROBINSON

Aurora.

Ballads of the Pacific Northwest. By ROBERT ALLISON HOOD. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 170. (\$2.50)

THERE are ten verse stories in this book. Three deal with great explorers, Captain Vancouver, Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson. One has to do with that humane and sturdy Hudson's Bay officer, Dr. John McLoughlin of Oregon. Three have as their themes the relations of Indians and whites. One of these, the longest and most ambitious in the book, gives an account of John Jewitt's three years among the Nootkas, as a slave of the great chieftain Maquinna, himself the subject of a recent book. Three are concerned with the Cariboo gold-rush, and among them is the poignant story of how Cariboo Cameron brought the dead body of his wife by land and sea from the Cariboo to her native Ontario.

The author has obviously made a painstaking study of the material on which he has based his narratives, each of which is followed by an interesting factual account in prose, often containing excerpts from his sources. He has even gone to the trouble of indicating venial departures from historical fact. His real interest, however, is antiquarian rather than historical, and the chief aim seems to be that of arousing popular interest in some picturesque aspects of the past by means of a pleasant re-telling of episodes of varying importance. There is practically no comment, expressed or implied.

With all the evidence of scrupulous honesty, the title of the book itself is misleading. The stories are not ballads, except in so far as they are narratives and are not written in prose. There is no folk element of any kind. Some parts, to be sure, are put into the mouths of sailors, canoeemen, Indian men and women, and boys. But there is little attempt to differentiate these, and none of them are folk characters. All are inspired by the same lofty sentiments and creditable emotions; all speak the same romantic language.

The writing of serious narrative verse is an exacting art, especially in these inhospitable days. Other poetry may admit gradations; for all but the esoteric there may be stages between bad verse and excellent poetry. But narrative verse appears to be allowed no such intermediates; it is good or not good. Unfortunately, *Ballads of the Pacific Northwest* is not good poetry.

J. D. ROBINS

Victoria College, Toronto.

The Jesuits in Old Oregon, 1840-1940. By WILLIAM N. BISCHOFF. Caldwell, Idaho; Caxton Printers. 1945. Pp. xx, 258. (\$3.00)

THE work of the Jesuits in eastern North America and especially in Huronia, has long been recognized, but till now very little attention has been paid to the activities of the order in the Pacific Northwest. Reverend Father William N. Bischoff, S.J., a graduate of Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, has with painstaking care set forth the story of the Society of Jesus in Old Oregon. He has grouped his material geographically rather than chronologically and has extended his researches to include missions established in South Dakota by Jesuits from Oregon. Reverend Father David P. McAstocker, S.J. has contributed an introduction and publication has been approved by the order and by the Archbishop of Chicago. It is evident that to Father Bischoff the volume has been a labour of love.

The Jesuits were not the first Roman Catholic missionaries in Old Oregon. That honour falls to the Franciscans and to those well-known pioneers from

Canada, Reverend Fathers Blanchet and Demers. In 1833 the Jesuits were assigned to the mission fields of the West but it was not until 1840 that Father Pierre Jean de Smet visited the Rocky Mountains area. The first mission station, St. Mary's, was founded by de Smet among the Flatheads in 1841. The Indians accepted de Smet's teachings so readily that Father Bischoff in describing the "order of the day" at the mission compares it to "that of novices in a religious house" rather than as applicable to "savages roaming the mountain fastness."

Carefully and with considerable detail the author tells of the Jesuit missions in Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. He pays attention also to the all too brief attempts of the order in New Caledonia. There is also a mention of the commencement of work by the Jesuits in Alaska. His narrative is here and there enlightened by vivid personal descriptions of some of the missionaries, but on the whole it will probably appeal much more to the specialist than to the general reader. It breaks new ground and sheds light on a hitherto obscure subject.

The chief difficulty which the reviewer has had with the book arises from the geographical or regional treatment of the subject. Although there are useful maps, it is extremely hard to keep the threads of the stories of all the various missions in one's mind. It is still more difficult to get a proper perspective of the whole field. None the less Father Bischoff is to be commended for his tireless industry and his piecing together of an intricate and important story of mission work in the Pacific Northwest.

WALTER N. SAGE

The University of British Columbia.

Two Thousand Miles of Gold. By J. B. MACDOUGALL. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1946. Pp. xvi, 234. (\$3.50)

THE author of this work was for a time English master in the North Bay Normal School and for some years a school inspector. He has travelled widely in Northern Ontario especially in the northeastern portion and has had first-hand experience with many of the things about which he writes. The excellence of parts of this book springs from a personal knowledge and experience. When the writer gets outside that sphere the results are in many cases inferior. He knows the prospector and the early settler—their nature, psychology, experiences, and viewpoint—and many of the descriptions of prospectors in action are remarkably good. The book is written in the vernacular of the Northland and is intended to appeal to anyone interested in that part of Canada.

This work is ostensibly a history of the discovery of ore deposits in the Canadian Shield from that of Silver Islet in Lake Superior in 1868, right through to the present day. The title suggests that it is concerned with gold but the author digresses to bring in iron, nickel, power, and atomic energy. It cannot be regarded, however, as an authoritative history of the development of the mineral industry in the Canadian Shield. A great effort has been made to glamorize the Northland and the serious reader often feels that the continual striving to accomplish this by heaping up adjectives takes something from the effectiveness of the book.

One who has spent so much time in Northern Ontario and who attempts to write about mines and minerals, should have some knowledge of geology but there is evidence of a complete lack in this work of any knowledge of the subject. Early in the text there is the statement that ancient mountains in the Canadian Shield were torn down by glaciers, the materials scattered, and the ores exposed. This

conception, although held by many uninformed persons, is absurd because those ancient mountains had been reduced well down to their present altitude five hundred million years before the last glaciers moved over the area. Other examples of errors are "massive walls of granite" in the Hollinger shaft, and the sinking of the shaft at the Steep Rock mine 800 feet still in choice ore 61.80 per cent pure. As a matter of fact the Steep Rock shaft was sunk in barren rock, not in ore at all. Profits of \$4,740,000 a year from the Steep Rock iron are even suggested. In the last chapter one finds the statement "when the milling of magnetite ores is mastered, Canada will step into the ranks of the foremost iron-producing nations." When did the production of magnetite compare with the production of other oxides of iron in placing a country in the first rank of iron-producers? Further, one wonders where the great deposits of magnetite are in the Atikokan range, in Michipicoten, and in some other places mentioned. This great effort to make everything spectacular detracts much from the worth of this book and makes one doubtful about many statements.

The finest chapters in this work are those dealing with discoveries in the Cobalt, Elk Lake, Gowganda, Porcupine, and Kirkland Lake areas. Here the author is at home with his narrative and he provides an excellent story with lots of romance. His telling of trips into Elk Lake and Gowganda will make any of his readers who have roughed it in the north country relive the days spent there. Chapter VIII, "A Triple Tragedy," is a vivid description of the three great bush fires that destroyed Porcupine, Matheson, and Haileybury within eleven years. There is much interesting information, written from first-hand knowledge, on the projection of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway into a new land, on the pioneers who made the farms, on the building of schools, and on other matters concerned with the opening up of a new rough country.

Mr. MacDougall is a great booster of the North and in the chapter on "Un-sung Heroes" one feels that he might be accused of partiality. All honour to the prospector and the pioneer settler, but the South should be given credit for supplying much of the capital, technological knowledge, and many other things that made it possible for the prospector to find ores and for the first mines to be developed. It has been a co-operative enterprise, this development of the Northland, as it should be.

E. S. MOORE

The University of Toronto.

Pioneer Life in the County of York. By EDWIN C. GUILLET. Toronto: Hess-Trade Typesetting Company. 1946. Pp. 166. (\$2.50)

THIS new book by Mr. Guillet was written at the suggestion of inspectors of schools in York County, Ontario, and it may therefore be presumed that it is meant primarily to be used as supplementary reading for pupils of the schools in that county in connexion with courses in local history. But it may be predicted that it will be of interest to a much wider reading public.

No attempt is made to give a complete history of the county: as the title suggests, it is the story of pioneer life, and the people and events described, except in one chapter, "Toronto in the Eighteen Seventies," belong to the period before 1850. Neither is it meant to be exhaustive; it is a general and representative account of pioneer life; and a great deal of minute detail often found in local histories is consequently omitted.

After an introductory chapter giving the "Highlights of Toronto's History," the life of the pioneer is traced from the time of "Crossing the Atlantic" to "The Process of Settlement." Then follow chapters giving a description of the various aspects of the settlers' life, as, for example, "Early Education," "Developments in Arts and Crafts," "Tavern Days." Much of the description is wisely left to be told by contemporary writers, one chapter "Toronto in 1934" being entirely quoted from David Wilkie's *Sketches of a Summer Trip to New York and the Canadas*. A particularly good account is given of the events in York County during the 1837 rebellion. In dealing with this subject Mr. Guillet is not partisan: whether the rebellion was justified is, as he says, now merely "an academic controversy about which there will never be complete agreement"; but when responsible government had been achieved "Tory and Reformer alike arose to praise the result." Many almost forgotten persons and places are described, and the derivations of a large number of place-names are given. There are few residents of the county who will not gain much information from a reading of this history. In so far as its primary purpose is concerned, it can hardly be other than stimulating to students and helpful to teachers. A special word of praise is due to the proof-reader. Except for one obvious slip (p. 102) where a misquotation from Macaulay is attributed to Shakespeare, this reviewer found no errors.

Mr. Guillet has made a very thorough study of Ontario's early history, and this book is therefore both interesting and reliable. The illustrations (about one hundred in number) are well chosen and, with end-maps of early Toronto and York County, add to the value of the text.

This, it is stated, is Volume I of a "County History" series. It is to be hoped that histories of other counties by the same author will soon be forthcoming. The school inspectors, for their suggestion of a history of this type, and Mr. Guillet, for carrying the suggestion out so well, are to be congratulated.

GEORGE W. SPRAGGE

Toronto.

A Short History of the Parish of Dunham. By T. R. MILLMAN. Dunham, P.Q.: The author. 1946. Pp. 66. (\$1.60)

DR. MILLMAN has composed a remarkably comprehensive little book. While it deals specifically with the story of Dunham, it contains a great deal of valuable information about rural life in south-eastern Quebec. Dunham is one of the oldest parishes in the Anglican diocese of Montreal, with an organized history covering more than a century and a quarter. The life of the parish, the coming and going of clergy, the activity of the laity, the building and enlargement of the church, and the expansion of parochial organizations, are fully discussed. In addition, there are a number of useful appendices, and a very complete list of sources. All this is admirable, and indicates discrimination on the author's part. Dr. Millman has related the history of his congregation to the community in which it is placed, and his church to the communion of which it is a part. To the Church of England, Dunham was a missionary area in more senses than one, since the early English-speaking settlers were Vermonters and New Yorkers with strong "dissenting" traditions. Nevertheless, they were won over by the first permanent missionary and rector, Reverend Charles Cotton. He was "Priest" Cotton to them, a title redolent of the New England atmosphere of the Quebec borderland. The original Yankee and Yorker community was overlaid by British immigration, and it, in turn, by the rising tide of French-Canadian settlement.

The zenith of parish health and prosperity came between about 1900 and the outbreak of the First Great War. A sentence, descriptive of the present, needs no further amplification. "At present . . . the Sunday School is dormant. The parish is poor in children." This is the story of more than one section of the Quebec countryside which used to be predominantly Anglo-Canadian. One of the most arresting features of the *Short History of the Parish of Dunham* is the very complete record of the clergy. Twelve rectors and six assistant priests have served the parish since Cotton's arrival as missionary in 1808. The nationality of the rectors is instructive: four, English; three, Canadian; two, Irish; two, Newfoundlanders; one, not specified. *A Short History of the Parish of Dunham* is well illustrated, a consideration along with the excellence of the letterpress, which makes it a valuable addition to congregational histories in the Province of Quebec.

McGill University.

J. I. COOPER

Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry: A History, 1784-1945. By JOHN GRAHAM HARKNESS. Oshawa, Ont.: Mundy-Goodfellow Printing Company. 1946. Pp. 601. (\$5.50)

It is pleasing to find that municipal officials are becoming aware of the value of preserving the records of their communities by sponsoring the writing of histories of regions or counties. If long residence, deep knowledge, and a love for the district and people of which the author writes are a criterion, few men are better fitted to write a history of this type than is Mr. Harkness. Himself a descendant of the pioneers of the upper St. Lawrence, he is intensely interested in the life of the early settlers, and, having lived in Cornwall for over eighty years, he is equally well-fitted to tell of more recent events and personalities.

In the first half of the *History* the story of the counties is told chronologically under chapter headings such as "The American Revolution," "The Rebellion and What Came of It," "The Coming of Confederation." To live up to these chapter headings the author attempts to give a general history of events from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day. Thus much extraneous matter is introduced into the history of the counties, for the causes of the American Revolution or of the War of 1812 have little to do with the settlement and progress of the counties on the St. Lawrence. And in giving his version of such matters the author is often at variance with the findings of modern scholarship. Where the book is valuable is in the story of the early settlement of the counties and the gradual growth of the community up to the present day. Here the author displays an unrivalled knowledge of local happenings and of the life histories and family connexions of the residents of the counties. For the general reader there may perhaps be too many details concerning the prominent men in the counties: the members of parliament, wardens, reeves, doctors, lawyers, merchants, clergymen, business men, and school-masters. But the book is obviously written chiefly for local consumption, and the local reader, or anyone whose forebears came from these counties, will find in these pages a mine of information which will be of much interest. Nearly 350 pictures of people, buildings, and places greatly enhance the value of the volume. All this research has caused men and women who were often but obscure names in the history of the province to emerge as living actors on the stage.

Particularly valuable for the general as well as for the local reader are chapters such as "Industrial and Social Development" in which are described the origin

and development of industries in the several communities in the counties, with their successes and failures, and the story of the origin and growth of telephone, electric, and water services, all typical of Ontario industrial towns. Too often social history of this kind is omitted in writing local history: such accounts help to give a true picture of the development of the community. There are excellent chapters on "Later Schools and Churches" (though in this chapter all reference to the Church of England is omitted), "The Press," "Courts and Lawyers," and "The Medical Profession." These chapters show the result of painstaking labour and much first-hand knowledge.

The book is not without fault. It is written in a colloquial style; the punctuation is often irritating; the composition is faulty in that it is often difficult to know to what person the author is making reference; and in the first few chapters the proof-reading has been badly done. The latter defect is perhaps the result of a lack of man-power owing to the war; but it is to be hoped that this excuse for slipshod work will not be longer accepted. One finds, to quote only a few examples, "the Stamp Act of Henry VIII" (p. 30), "Major General Cruickshanks" for "Brigadier General Cruikshank" (p. 47), the "*Upper Canada Gazette*" for "*Colonial Advocate*" (p. 158), "General Moodie" and "Dr. Duncome" for "Colonel Moodie" and "Dr. Duncombe" (p. 177). On the other hand there is a useful, though far from complete, index, and the paper and binding are of excellent quality.

The material in this book is evidence of how much of our local history is still to be written. Before a knowledge of earlier days has disappeared, it is to be hoped that residents of other counties and districts will follow Mr. Harkness's example.

Toronto.

GEORGE W. SPRAGGE

History of the Holstein-Friesian Breed in Canada. By GEORGE ELMORE REAMAN.

With a foreword by J. R. HENDERSON. Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons and Company. 1946. Pp. xviii, 585. (\$6.50)

FIVE years ago the officers of the Holstein-Friesian Association of Canada decided that it would be advisable to have the history of the breed written while many of the early breeders were still available to provide information, and commissioned Professor Reaman of the Ontario Agricultural College to carry out the project. By delving into the files of agricultural periodicals from the eighteen-eighties to the present, by interviewing pioneer breeders or those who were acquainted with their activities, and, above all, by utilizing fully the official records of the Association, the author has produced a handbook indispensable to Canadian dairymen. The first two sections, consisting of brief surveys from secondary authorities, one of the early history of American and Canadian dairy cattle in general, the other of the Dutch background of the Holstein-Friesian breed, are the weakest parts of the book. The first section especially could have been strengthened by the incorporation of much material readily available in the agricultural journals. The third section—more than a third of the book—is devoted to biographical sketches of breeders from the Maritime Provinces to British Columbia. These are of interest not only to present-day breeders, but to local and agricultural historians as well. The fourth section, which is slightly longer than the third, describes the activities of the Holstein-Friesian Association of Canada since its foundation in 1884, as well as those of related or subsidiary organizations. It also lists at length the office holders of the Association, the winning breeders at leading

exhibitions and their animals, and the outstanding cows in various performance tests. The fifth section, a brief one devoted to foundation families, and the last, a tabulation of Canadian-owned animals registered in American herd books, are of importance only to breeders. The volume is profusely illustrated, carefully indexed, and well printed and bound. It could serve, indeed, in *format* no less than in subject-matter, as a model for histories of other breeds of Canadian cattle or of other kinds of Canadian livestock.

Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio.

ROBERT LESLIE JONES

The Westward Crossings: Balboa, Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark. By JEANNETTE MIRSKY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf [Toronto: Ryerson Press]. 1946. Pp. xvi, 382. (\$4.00)

MISS MIRSKY has the pen of a ready writer. She can make dry chronicles live. From the standard accounts of the explorations of Balboa, Alexander Mackenzie, and Lewis and Clark she has written a narrative full of colour and romance but also one which is liberally interspersed with well-chosen quotations. She portrays character vividly and fills in the background well. The volume is divided into three parts and each has its "theme song": "Gold for the Crown," "Furs for the Company," and "Commerce for the Nation." These themes have been carefully chosen to designate the explorations of the Spaniards, the British, and the Americans. The French form a background for the British fur traders.

In her "Foreword" the author thus contrasts the impelling motives behind these three exploring expeditions: "Balboa's achievement and his senseless death throw the two extremes of sixteenth-century Spain into sharp relief: colonial Spain, young and inchoate, yet aware of the ideas befitting a virile and Christian nation, and fanatic, feudal, Catholic Spain. . . ." "Mackenzie's enterprise secured the vastness and resources of western Canada for Great Britain just when she had, by her conservatism, lost thirteen of her colonies. . . ." "The Lewis and Clark expedition was a conscious historical gesture with social implications. . . ." "No, Balboa, Mackenzie, and Lewis and Clark are not three stories, they are three episodes in one story—the penetration and exploration of the continent."

The real value of the book is in this broad conception—Miss Mirsky acknowledges her indebtedness to Professor J. Bartlet Brebner and pays tribute to his *Explorers of North America*. It is also evident that she has a sound knowledge of Latin American history. Her point of view is continental and not national. The exploration of North America was a slow process lasting three centuries. Each of the crossings of the continent, Balboa's at the narrowest extent, Mackenzie's at the widest, and Lewis and Clark's in the centre joining the mighty waterways of the Missouri and the Columbia, was of vital importance. Each reached the Pacific and established a claim on that greatest of all oceans.

There are a few minor errors and blemishes in the book. Fortunately for the author the worst error is to be found on the jacket of the volume. There Mackenzie's expedition is credited with reaching the "Russian settlements on Nootka Sound." We live and learn!

The Westward Crossings is based on sound study of well-known sources but the author has added something of her own. Not only has she drawn all these accounts together and told them in perspective; she has also given space to Peter Pond and John Ledyard, and above all has graphically interpreted the motives of the explorers.

The University of British Columbia.

WALTER N. SAGE

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

- ABEL, DERYCK. *The case against Empire preference* (Contemporary review, no. 976, Apr., 1947, 221-6).
- BRADY, ALEXANDER. *Democracy in the dominions: A comparative study in institutions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1947. Pp. x, 475. (\$4.25) Reviewed on p. 284.
- EVATT, H. V. *Australia in world affairs*. With a foreword by FREDERIC W. EGGLESTON. Sydney and London: Angus and Robertson. 1946. Pp. xiv, 213. (10s. 6d.) Reviewed on p. 284.
- FROST, RICHARD. *Commonwealth consultation* (English-speaking world, XXVIII (4), June-July, 1946, 487-90). Whatever view one takes on the wider question of the discussion of foreign policies, there can be general agreement about the excellence of co-operation and consultation in the various functional fields.
- MCGINTY, ALICE B. *India: From Company to Crown* (Current history, XII (66), Feb., 1947, 144-9). Short sketch of British rule in India up to its transference from the East India Company to the Crown in 1858.
- MATTHEWS, H. L. *Britain keeps faith with her Empire* (Empire digest, IV (8), June, 1947, 12-15). Though Britain has quitted India and passed the burden of Palestine to other hands, these decisions do not mean imperial suicide.
- RATCLIFFE, S. K. *India—end and beginning* (Contemporary review, no. 976, Apr., 1947, 202-7). With the British withdrawal from India, the horrors of the past months may be repeated on a scale past imagining.
- STEVENS, BERTRAM. *New horizons: A study of Australian-Indian relationships*. Published under the auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, New South Wales Branch. Sydney: Peter Huston. 1946. Pp. 201. Reviewed on p. 284.
- WOODSIDE, WILLSON. *Will the Commonwealth be able to hold new Indian Dominions?* (Saturday night, LXII (41), June 14, 1947, 14-15).

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- Canada, Department of External Affairs. *Report of the Canadian delegates to the Twenty-First Assembly of the League of Nations*. (Conference series, 1946, no. 2.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1946. Pp. 27. (25c.)
- *Report of the secretary of state for external affairs for year ended Dec. 31, 1946*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1947. Pp. 83. (10c.)
- GLAZEBROOK, G. DE T. *The Middle Powers in the United Nations system* (International organization, I (2), June, 1947, 307-15). Sketches the role of the Middle Powers, in which Canada is included, in the work of the United Nations.
- HIGINBOTHAM, WILLIAM A. and LINDLEY, ERNEST K. *Atomic challenge*. (Headline series no. 63.) New York: Foreign Policy Association. 1947. Pp. 63. (35c.)

McNAUGHTON, A. G. L. *Protecting the North American frontier* (Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, XXII (2), Jan., 1947, 137-42). Until the United Nations can effectively assume the task of maintaining world peace, the continued production and improvement of all weapons and the assurance that North America remains strong are vital to the prevention of aggression.

MITCHELL, AKELEY. *Canada as a world power* (American mercury, LXIII (271), July, 1946, 48-55).

TANGHE, RAYMOND. *Esquisse Américaine*. Préface par GILBERT CHINARD. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1947. Pp. 231. (\$1.35) A surprisingly penetrating and sympathetic interpretative analysis of Americans and American life, first given as a series of radio lectures over the CBC. A real contribution to Canadian-American understanding.

World Peace Foundation. *The United Nations at work: Basic documents*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St. 1947. Pp. 147. (40c.)

III. CANADA, THE WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

ARMOUR, STUART. *The opening phase of world war III* (Canadian Officers Club and Institute, selected papers no. 41, 1946, 20-34). The author believes that communist infiltration is a serious threat to Canada and "that we may indeed be involved at this very moment in the opening phase of World War III."

GORFORTH, WALLACE. *Strategy revised: Future defence of Canada against the new weapons*. Toronto: The author, 330 Bay St. 1947. Pp. 10 (mimeo.).

KING, WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE. *Victory reconstruction and peace: Mackenzie King to the people of Canada*. (Canada and the War.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 142.

MALONE, Colonel DICK. *Missing from the record*. Toronto: Collins. 1946. Pp. xii, 227. (\$3.00) Reviewed on p. 318.

RUFFEE, G. E. M. assisted by DICKIE, J. B. *The history of the 14th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery, 1940-1945*. Amsterdam: Wereldvibliothek; Wolfville, N.S.: The author. 1945. Pp. 62.

SCLATEP, WILLIAM. *Haida*. With an introduction by the Right Honourable A. V. ALEXANDER. With twenty-four drawings in colour by Lieutenant GRANT MACDONALD. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 221. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

SHULMAN, MILTON. *Defeat in the West*. With an introduction by Major-General Sir IAN JACOB. London: Secker and Warburg [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders]. 1947. Pp. xvi, 336. (\$3.50) Reviewed on p. 318.

SPARLING, H. A. *Reserve force organization within M.D. no. 2* (Canadian Officers Club and Institute, selected papers no. 41, 1946, 39-43).

VOKES, C. *The army and the citizen* (Canadian Officers Club and Institute, selected papers no. 41, 1946, 35-8). Discusses training and requirements for members of the Reserve Force of the Canadian Army.

WHITCOMBE, FRED (comp. and ed.). *The pictorial history of Canada's Army Overseas, 1939-1945*. Narrative by BLAIR GILMOUR. Montreal: Whitcombe, Gilmour and Company [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1947. Pp. 287. (\$3.50) A pictorial record of Canada's war-time army based on official Canadian Army photographs.

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- Bell Telephone Magazine. *Alexander Graham Bell anniversary issue*. Vol. XXVI (1), spring, 1947. Pp. 68.
- CAUGHEY, JOHN WALTON. *Hubert Howe Bancroft: Historian of the West*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 422. (\$5.00) First complete, scholarly biography of a man who had marked influence on the historiography of North America.
- DUBÉ, ARMAND. *Messire Pierre de Francheville*. L'auteur: Collège de Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, comté de Kamouraska. 1946. Pp. 60. (25c.)
- HÉBERT, CASIMIR. *L'honorable P. E. Blondin, sénateur, ancien ministre et commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur: Essai biographique*. Montréal: L'auteur, c/o la Société Historique de Montréal. 1946. Pp. 36.
- HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *Mackenzie King of Canada* (American mercury, LXIII (276), Dec., 1946, 661-8). A feature article on W. L. Mackenzie King.
- MACDONALD, MALCOLM. *The birds of Brewery Creek*. Illustrated with photographs by ARTHUR A. ALLEN and W. V. CRICH. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. x, 334. (\$3.50) This book, written by a former High Commissioner for the United Kingdom to Canada, is his record of a year's observation of the birds of Eastern Canada.
- MCGEACHY, K. B. *Mammoth or milquetoast?* (Maclean's magazine, LX (13), July 1, 1947, 9, 48-50). The author believes that Canadians need more national heroes and more vainglory in their past before they will see clearly the place that their country has achieved in the world.
- MITCHELL, AKELY. *Our Canadian readers* (American mercury, LXIV (278), Feb., 1947, 204-10). Notes on Canadian newspapers, magazines, and books.
- PHILIP, PERCY J. *Portrait of the Canadian* (Empire digest, IV (10), July, 1947, 1-9). An attempt to interpret Canada and Canadians to others.
- PLEWMAN, W. R. *Adam Beck and the Ontario hydro*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1947 Pp. xxii, 494. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- SIMMS, L. W. *Tribute to the memory of T. S. Simms on the occasion of the centennial of his birth*. Saint John, N.B.: The author, 76 Lancaster Ave. W. 1945. Pp. 49.
- SMITH, I. NORMAN (ed.). *The diary of our own Pepys: E. W. Harrold's record of Canadian life*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 296. (\$3.50) Mr. Harrold chose the form of Pepys' diary for his comments on contemporary affairs, and from the large number of items the editors of this book have chosen as many as the length they had set would allow. There are remarks on a great diversity of subjects, large and small, and together they give a vivid and a readable account of the march of fifteen years as seen by an intelligent and a sympathetic observer. [G. DE T. GLAZEBROOK]
- STEVENSON, O. J. *The talking wire: The story of Alexander Graham Bell*. Illustrated by LAWRENCE DRESSER. New York: Julian Messner [Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1947. Pp. viii, 207. (\$2.75)
- Tribute to a nation builder: An appreciation of Dr. John Murray Gibbon*. Toronto: Composers Authors and Publishers Association of Canada. 1946. Pp. 31. Contains the speeches made at a gathering held in Ottawa, March 21, 1946 in honour of John Murray Gibbon, author and composer and retired General Publicity agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

(2) Discovery and Exploration

- PULLEN, W. J. S. *Pullen in search of Franklin*. II (The beaver, outfit 278, June, 1947, 22-5). From an account written in 1882 by Vice Admiral W. J. S. Pullen of his expedition in search of Franklin.

(3) New France

- CRAIG, WILLIAM H. *Order of the Good Time* (Empire digest, IV (8), June, 1947, 40-4). The Order of the Good Time was founded at Port Royal in 1606 by Samuel de Champlain.
- LEMELIN, ROMÉO. *Les registres de l'état des personnes dans la province de Québec: Notes d'histoire, L'ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts (1539)* (Revue de l'Université Laval, I (9), mai, 1947, 707-15; I (10), juin, 1947, 820-33).
- PAUL-ÉMILE, Soeur. *Mère Elisabeth Bruyère et son oeuvre*. Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1945. Pp. 405.
- PENN, DOROTHY (ed.). *The French in the valley: Transportation*. Part VII (Missouri historical review, XLI (3), Apr., 1947, 305-14).
- PRIEUR, G. O. *Réné Goupil, surgeon: The first of the Jesuit martyrs* (Calgary Associate Clinic, historical bulletin, XII (2), Aug., 1947, 25-31). A sketch of surgeon René Goupil who, along with the better-known Fathers Brébeuf, Daniel, and Lalemant, was tortured and killed by the Iroquois.
- PROVOST, HONORIUS. *La réserve de M. d'Ailleboust à Québec* (B.R.H., LIII (6), juin, 1947, 178-87). Further notes on Champlain's chapel and on M. d'Ailleboust's reserve of land.
- RAYMOND, ALFRED. *Saint Noël Chabanel: Martyr du Canada, 1613-1640*. (Collection les grands serviteurs de Dieu.) Montréal: Édition Fides. 1946. Pp. 154. (75c.)
- ROY, ANTOINE. *Inventaire des greffes des notaires du régime français*. VIII and IX. (Archives de la Province de Québec.) Québec. 1946; 1947. Pp. 287; 328. To be reviewed later.
- (4) British North America before 1867**
- AUDET, FRANCIS-J. and SURVEYER, EDOUARD FABRE. *Les députés au premier parlement du Bas-Canada [1792-1796]: Études biographiques, anecdotes, et historiques*. Tome I. Montréal: Éditions des Dix. 1946. Pp. 316. To be reviewed later.
- DESROSIER, LÉO-PAUL. *Les engagés du grand portage*. (Collection du Nénuphar.) Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1946. Pp. 207. Reprint of a prize-winning historical novel first published in Paris in 1939. The story is based upon the fur trade as it was about 1800, of which it gives a vivid and stirring account. Because of the outbreak of war in 1939 few copies of this novel ever reached Canada, hence this reprint makes it easily available for the first time.
- Documents relatifs à la révolution américaine de 1775* (Revue de l'Université Laval, I (1), sept., 1946, 65-9; I (2), Oct., 1946, 142-7; I (4), déc., 1946, 299-303; I (6), fév., 1947, 469-73; I (8), avril, 1947, 670-6; I (10), juin, 1947, 888-90).
- HANDLIN, OSCAR and HANDLIN, MARY FLUG. *Commonwealth: A study of the role of government in the American economy: Massachusetts, 1774-1861*. New York: New York University Press. 1947. Pp. xiv, 364. Reviewed on p. 300.
- HARVEY, A. G. *John Jeffrey: Botanical explorer* (British Columbia historical quarterly, X (4), Oct., 1946, 281-90). John Jeffrey was the first botanist to make an extensive botanical study north of the forty-ninth parallel.

- HATCH, MARIE MARTEL (ed.). *Letters of Captain Sir John Jervis to Sir Henry Clinton, 1774-1782* (American Neptune, VII (2), Apr., 1947, 87-106). John Jervis (1735-1823) was one of the few men in the British navy during the war of American independence who was worthy of its great traditions.
- HUTCHINS, THOMAS. *Pageantry at York Fort* (The beaver, outfit 278, June, 1947, 44-6). An eye-witness account of the trading ceremony which was staged at York Factory in the seventeen-seventies.
- LAMB, W. KAYE. *McLoughlin's statement of the expenses incurred in the "Dryad" incident of 1834* (British Columbia historical quarterly, X (4), Oct., 1946, 291-7). Adds a brief new chapter to the story of the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast.
- ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Toutes petites choses du régime anglais*. Première série; deuxième série. Québec: Éditions Garneau. 1946. Pp. 300; 300. (\$2.00)
- TREMAINE, MARIE. *Canadian-American relations in colonial printing* (College and research libraries, VII (1), Jan., 1946, 27-33). The latter half of the eighteenth century saw the beginning of a close relationship between the developing printing establishments of Canada and the United States.
- WATER, FREDERIC F. VAN DE. *Lake Champlain and Lake George*. (The American Lakes series edited by MILO M. QUAIFFE.) Indianapolis, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1946. Pp. 381. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- WILLCOX, WILLIAM B. *The British road to Yorktown: A study in divided command* (American historical review, LII (1), Oct., 1946, 1-35). An inquiry into the motives of the British strategy in the Yorktown campaign.
- WILSON, CLIFFORD. *Founding Fort Yukon* (The beaver, outfit 278, June, 1947, 38-43). One hundred years ago Alexander Hunter Murray established Fort Yukon, the Hudson's Bay Company's most westerly fort.
- (5) The Dominion of Canada**
- ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *Les propositions fédérales aux provinces et l'avenir des Canadiens français* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XVII (1), janv.-mars, 1947, 13-33).
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Department of Trade and Commerce. *Canada 1947: The official handbook of present conditions and recent progress*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1947. Pp. 264.
- Canada: Political roundabout* (Round table, no. 147, June, 1947, 284-9).
- Canadian Information Service. *Canada from sea to sea*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1947. Pp. 80. This illustrated brochure, designed by the National Film Board, contains chapters on the land, the people, social and cultural development, economic development, and the two world wars.
- CLOKIE, H. McD. *The preservation of civil liberties* (C.J.E.P.S., XIII (2), May, 1947, 208-32). Argues that the chief difficulty in the preservation of civil liberties today comes from inability to perceive the new phases of the problem and to re-define the content of liberty in the modern state.
- COLQUETTE, R. D. *What's behind the tax agreements* (Country guide, Apr., 1947, 5, 24, 27). Some opinions on why Ontario and Quebec are not in favour of centralization.
- EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *Why and how Canada federated* (Freedom and union, II (3), Mar., 1947, 8-11). The author suggests that Canada's federal experience possesses some value as a testplot for modern political institutions.

- FRASER, BLAIR. *The great and gay John A.* (Maclean's magazine, LX (13), July 1, 1947, 7-8, 42-4, 46). A feature article on Sir John A. Macdonald.
- FRÉGAULT, GUY. *L'indépendance du Canada* (L'action nationale, XXIX (6), juin, 1947, 450-77). The author believes that the Anglo-Canadian mentality is of such a nature that Canada must always remain colonial.
- GROULX, LIONEL. *Louis Riel et les événements de la Rivière-Rouge en 1869-1870.* Montréal: Ligue d'Action Nationale. 1945. Pp. 24. (5c.)
- JACKETT, W. R. *Chart of privy council decisions with reference to the British North America Act.* Ottawa: The author, 489 Wilbrod St. 1946. (\$3.00)
- KETCHUM, C. J. *Canada's supreme court* (Monetary times, CXV (6), June, 1947, 88, 90, 92, 94-6). Notes on the functions and war-time duties of the court and on the justices comprising it.
- TUCK, RAPHAEL. *Social security: An administrative solution to the Dominion-provincial problem* (C.J.E.P.S., XII (2), May, 1947, 256-75). Attempts to evolve an administrative technique for Dominion-provincial co-operation in the social services within the framework of the British North America Act of 1867.

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- BIRD, WILL R. *Sea-conditioned Nova Scotia* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXIV (2), Feb., 1947, 56-85). Notes on the history, geography, and people of Nova Scotia.
- OBORNE, H. G. *Samuel Tilley Gove, 1813-1897: A chronicle of a Canadian doctor of a century ago* (Calgary Associate Clinic, historical bulletin, XII (2), Aug., 1947, 31-8). Notes on a doctor of St. Andrew's, New Brunswick.

(2) The Province of Quebec

- AUCLAIR, ELIE-J. *Précis historique de la paroisse Saint-Edouard de Montréal, 1895-1945.* Montréal: L'auteur, 6365, rue Saint-Vallier. 1945. Pp. 116. (75c.)
- BARABÉ, PAUL-HENRI. *Mgr Joseph-Thomas Duhamel, premier archevêque d'Ottawa* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XVII (2), avril-juin, 1947, 181-207).
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Le réveil de notre tradition* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, XXXIII (129), printemps, 1947, 3-14).
- BERNARD, ANTOINE. *Les clercs de Saint-Viateur au Canada: Le premier demi-siècle, 1847 à 1897.* Montréal: Les Clercs de Saint-Viateur. 1947. Pp. 650.
- Les cahiers des dix, no. 11.* Montréal: Les Dix. 1946. Pp. 327. To be reviewed later.
- Collection mon pays.* I. *Le Saguenay pittoresque*; II. *Le Saguenay historique*; III. *L'Oratoire Saint-Joseph*; IV. *Le frère André et son oeuvre au Mont-Royal.* Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1946. (\$1.00 la série)
- DROUIN, RAOUL. *Monseigneur Georges Gauthier: Archevêque de Montréal.* Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1946. Pp. 105. A short biographical sketch doing homage to the late Mgr Gauthier.
- FRASER, BLAIR. *What now, Jean Baptiste?* (Maclean's magazine, LX (10), May 15, 1947, 9, 70-4). There is taking place in Quebec, a break with the past and a seeking for new and as yet unlocated directions.
- HERTEL, FRANÇOIS. *Les ennemis de la culture française au Canada* (Amérique française, V (9), nov., 1946, 2-6). "Je prétends que les hommes d'extrême droite comme ceux d'extrême gauche . . . sont funestes pour la culture française."

- LEFEBVRE, JEAN-JACQUES. *Saint-Constant et Saint-Philippe de Laprairie, 1744-1946*. Hull: Éditions "L'Eclair." 1947. Pp. 43. An outline history of two of the French-Canadian parishes whose origins go back before 1760, and which have not yet had their history recorded. The author, Librarian of the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, and Secretary of the Société Historique de Montréal, was requested by the Société Canadienne de l'Histoire de l'Église, at the time of its last convention to undertake the task of writing this history. The present outline is intended as a point of departure for a more extensive work. [R. M. SAUNDERS]
- MAURALT, OLIVIER. *M. Henri Gauthier*. Montreal: The author, University of Montreal. 1945. Pp. 23. (\$1.00)
 ———. *Par voies et par chemins de l'air: Les Amériques*. Montréal: Éditions des Dix. 1947. Pp. 272. Mgr Mauralt's travel journal of a recent trip to Latin America, with four speeches given en route. Chiefly important as evidence of the growing French-Canadian interest in making contact with Latin Americans.
- MORISSEAU, HENRI. *Mgr Joseph-Eugène-Bruno Guigues, Oblat de Marie-Immaculée, Premier évêque d'Ottawa* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XVII (2), avril-juin, 1947, 136-80).
- NADEAU, ANDRÉ. *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Patrice de Beaurivage, 1871-1916*. Québec: Imprimerie Ernest Tremblay, 146, rue du Pont. 1946. Pp. 163. (\$2.00)
- OUELLET, GÉRARD. *Ma paroisse: Saint-Jean Port-Joly*. Lévis: *Le quotidien*. 1946. Pp. xvi, 351.
- Présentation de M. Charles De Koninck et M. l'abbé Félix-Antoine Savard, année académique 1945-1946*. (Société Royale du Canada; Section Française no. 3.) Hull: L'Imprimerie Leclerc. 1947. Pp. 63. The speeches of presentation and response given at the time of the reception of the above-named new members into the French section of the Royal Society of Canada.
- ROY, ANTOINE. *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1944-1945*. Québec: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. xvi, 435. To be reviewed later.
- RUMILLY, ROBERT. *La plus riche aumône: Histoire de la Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul au Canada*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Arbre. 1946. Pp. 240. (\$1.25)
- SAGNAC, PHILIPPE. *La formation de la Société Française Moderne*. Tome II. *La Révolution des idées et des mœurs et le déclin de l'ancien régime (1715-1788)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1946. Pp. viii, 355. This work of one of the best known and respected of present day French historians, undertaken, as he says, "at the end of our career as a historian," is a first-class synthesis of modern French historical thinking about the eighteenth century in France. In this volume M. Sagnac is fundamentally concerned with the causes and manner of social and economic changes, and with the climate of opinion in which they occurred. The two volumes of this work constitute an attempt, a very successful attempt, to do, on the basis of modern scholarship, what de Tocqueville and Taine did on the basis of nineteenth-century scholarship; i.e., make a penetrating interpretation of the Ancien Régime. For those concerned especially with the history of Canada the significance of M. Sagnac's work is that it portrays the way in which the main currents of French life were carrying the home country further and further away from the colony of New France, a divergence later confirmed in the hostility of French Canada to revolutionary France. No serious student of Canadian history can afford to neglect the study of this process, a major element in the background of Canadian development. Hence this work is of very great importance in Canada. [R. M. SAUNDERS]
- STANLEY, MILTON. *Three hundred years or so* (Canadian banker, LIV (1), Feb., 1947, 90-125). A kaleidoscopic review of Montreal.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BROWN, E. K. *Now take Ontario* (Maclean's magazine, LX (12), June 15, 1947, 12, 30-2). A feature article on Ontario.

FISHER, CLAUDE L. *Ottawa* (Empire digest, IV (10), July, 1947, 44-52).

GUILLET, E. C. *Ottawa of yesterday* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXIV (1), Jan., 1947, 40-8).

Hamilton Centennial Committee. *Hamilton centennial, 1846-1946: One hundred years of progress*. Edited by ALEXANDER H. WINGFIELD. Hamilton, Ont.: The Committee, City Hall. 1946. Pp. 122. (\$1.00)

JACKSON, H. M. *The saga of Sioux Lookout* (Sylva, III (3), 1947, 11-18). Notes on the development of Sioux Lookout, one of the newer towns of Ontario situated about 250 miles east of Winnipeg.

SAUNDERS, AUDREY. *Algonquin story*. With an introduction by SELWYN DEWDNEY. Toronto: Department of Lands and Forests. 1947. Pp. xii, 196. To be reviewed later.

SÉGUIN, LIONEL. *Historique de la Paroisse Saint-Charles, comté Nipissing, Ontario*. The author: Saint-Charles, Ont. 1945. Pp. 494. This is, as the author tells, an essay in "La Petite Histoire." That is to say it is a detailed chronicle of the events, chiefly religious, and the personalities of a pioneer settlement in Northern Ontario. The larger part of the substantial volume is devoted to the genealogies of the pioneer settlers. In other words a good deal of material has been preserved here which is easily lost, and which has been lost for many communities. Future historians, when they come to write the history of Ontario on a grander scale than this, will be grateful to Father Séguin for the care with which he has saved these records, and they will wish that others had done as much for many a settlement for which such records will be missing. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

(4) The Prairie Provinces

The city of Winnipeg (Monetary times, CXV (6), June, 1947, 28-32, 99). One of the *Monetary Times's* "Cities of Canada" series.

HORAN, JOHN W. "West, nor'west": *A history of Alberta*. Edmonton: Northgate Books. 1945. Pp. 184. (\$2.00)

Saskatchewan, Province of. *First report of the Saskatchewan Archives for the period April 1, 1945, to May 31, 1946*. Regina: King's Printer. 1946. Pp. 36. To be reviewed later.

WRIGHT, J. *Saskatchewan* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXIV (3), Mar., 1947, 108-36). Notes on Saskatchewan's history, politics, industries, climate, and people.

(5) British Columbia and the Northwest Coast

BURNHAM, HOWARD J. *Government grants and patents in Vancouver, Washington* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLVIII (2), June, 1947, 7-44).

CAMPBELL, BURT R. *From hand-set type to linotype: Reminiscences of fifty years in the printing trade* (British Columbia historical quarterly, X (4), Oct., 1946, 253-72).

LAMB, W. KAYE. *Burrard of Burrard's Channel* (British Columbia historical quarterly, X (4), Oct., 1946, 273-9). The author believes that, contrary to the view advanced in the April, 1946 *Quarterly*, Burrard Inlet was named after Sir Harry Burrard, the second baronet.

McKELVIE, B. A. *Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Wood Powell, M.D., C.M.* (British Columbia historical quarterly, XI (1), Jan., 1947, 33-54). Few men have made a greater

contribution to the development of British Columbia than Lieutenant-Colonel Powell—doctor, educator, protagonist of Confederation, organizer of the militia, member of the House of Assembly, and benefactor of Vancouver.

RICKARD, T. A. *The sea-otter in history* (British Columbia historical quarterly, XI (1), Jan., 1947, 15-31). Sketches the part played by the sea-otter in the history of the northwest coast.

WOLFENDEN, MADGE. *Outstanding personalities in the library history of British Columbia* (Canadian Library Association bulletin, III (5), June, 1947, 131-3).

(6) Northwest Territories, Yukon, and the Arctic Regions

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Alaska beckons*. Illustrated by ARTHUR PRICE. Caldwell: Cantox Printers [Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1947. Pp. 343. (\$5.50)

BREYNAT, MGR GABRIEL. *Cinquante ans au pays des neiges*. Tome I. *Chez les mangeurs de caribou*. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1945. Pp. 347. (\$1.50)

— *Cinquante ans au pays des neiges*. Tome II. *Voyageur du Christ*. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1947. Pp. 372. (\$1.50, paper; \$2.50, cloth) This is the second volume of the memoirs of Mgr Breynat, first Apostolic Vicar of the Mackenzie. It covers the period 1902-20, or, as Mgr Breynat more picturesquely puts it, from the time of his appointment as apostolic vicar until the first coming of aeroplanes to the northland. Based upon his own experiences and upon the mission journals these memoirs form a valuable contribution to the history of the Canadian North. They concern primarily the missionary work of the "Pères et Frères oblats de Marie Immaculée, et Soeurs de la Charité, dites Soeurs Grises de Montréal." Though historically the most important part of Mgr Breynat's memoirs is the story of the establishment and spread of Roman Catholic missions in the Mackenzie area, the reader cannot but be especially drawn to the dramatic account of the murders of Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux, of the long and successful hunt for the murderers conducted by the R.C.M.P., and of the trials of the murderers. This whole affair constitutes a *cause célèbre* in the history of Canadian jurisprudence. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

BUGBEE, WILLIS N. *Echoes from the North: A collection of legends, yarns and sagas*. Syracuse: Willis N. Bugbee Company [Toronto: Ryerson Press]. 1946. Pp. vi, 168. (\$2.25)

EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *Strategy and wealth in Northern Canada* (Queen's quarterly, LIV (2), summer, 1947, 238-49).

FERGUSON, CHICK. *Mink, Mary and me*. New York: M.S. Mill Company. 1946. Pp. 248. (\$3.50) A realistic picture of a white fur-trapper in the Canadian sub-Arctic.

HARVEY, J. B. *Future of northern Canada*. Toronto: Brewis and White, 200 Bay St. 1946. Pp. 16.

PATTERSON, R. M. *River of Deadmen's Valley* (The beaver, outfit 278, June, 1947, 8-13). The author spent three years in the fabled Nahanni Valley of which he writes.

(7) Newfoundland

CAHILL, BRIAN. *Newfoundland from 1497—year of discovery to 1947—year of decision* (Atlantic guardian, III (6), June, 1947, 7-18). A short résumé of Newfoundland's history from its discovery by John Cabot in 1497 to the present.

PARENTEAU, ROLAND. *L'annexion de terre-neuve est-elle désirable?* (L'action nationale, XXIX (5), mai, 1947, 347-59). A discussion of the problem of Newfoundland from the Quebec nationalist point of view.

PLUMPTRE, A. F. W. *Newfoundland a province; Can Canada afford it?* (Saturday night, LXII (42), June 21, 1947, 6-7).

YOUNG, EWART. *Look to Labrador!* (Atlantic guardian, III (5), May, 1947, 7-17). Discusses the possibilities of iron ore in Labrador.

VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. *Atomic energy: The present and the future.* Toronto: CBC. 1947. Pp. 24. A series of broadcast on the CBC Trans-Canada network, April to June, 1947. They include "Discovery and Development" by J. D. Cockroft and M. L. E. Oliphant; "Canada's Part in International Control" by A. G. L. McNaughton; "Canada's Part in the Development of Atomic Energy" by C. J. MacKenzie; "Atomic Energy Research in Canada" by W. B. Lewis; "Peaceful Uses" by P. M. S. Blackett and Henry Dale; and "The Outlook for Mankind" by Bertrand Russell.

CRAGG, R. CECIL. *Canadian democracy and the economic settlement.* Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1947. Pp. xlii, 262. (\$4.00)

DEIGNAN, H. G. *HBC and the Smithsonian* (The beaver, outfit 278, June, 1947, 3-7). Of the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in the field of natural history.

HEWETT, F. V. C. and McDONOUGH, W. J. *Flying and mining in Canada* (Air affairs, I (2), Dec., 1946, 233-41). Mining in Canada has benefitted from the application of flying more than any other industry.

HOFFMAN, ARNOLD. *Free gold: The story of Canadian mining.* Illustrated by IRWIN D. HOFFMAN. New York: Rinehart and Company [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1947. Pp. x, 420. (\$5.00)

LACEY, A. *Fish, furs and history* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXIV (1), Jan., 1947, 2-9). The role of codfish and furs in the history of North America.

Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on adult education. Winnipeg: King's Printer. 1947. Pp. 170.

SAINT-PIERRE, ARTHUR. *Témoignages sur nos orphelins.* Lettre-préface de son Eminence le Cardinal RODRIGUE VILLENEUVE. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1946. Pp. 158. This little book gives the statistical account, with commentary, of an inquiry undertaken by the author for the Institut de Sociologie, de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales de l'Université de Montréal, in 1944. The purpose was to determine the present usefulness of orphanages. The inquiry was made amongst one-time residents of these institutions. At the end the author concludes that "these institutions are a part of our moral riches, they form a singularly precious part of our national patrimony."

(2) Agriculture

YATES, S. W. *The Saskatchewan wheat pool: Its origin, organization and progress 1924-1935.* Edited by ARTHUR S. MORTON. Saskatoon: United Farmers of Canada. 1947. Pp. 218. To be reviewed later.

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

BENOIST, EMILE. *Rimouski et les pays d'en-bas.* Montréal: Éditions du "Devoir." 1945. Pp. 196. This book consists of a series of articles which appeared in *Le Devoir* during the summer and fall of 1945. The author-journalist describes the rather remarkable colonization movement which has been successfully undertaken in the diocese of Rimouski over a period of several years largely in conjunction with the development of Catholic co-operatives. Important as a study in the rehabilitation of a depressed region. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

COUTURE, CLOVIS-ÉMILE. *Colonisation: Le choix à faire* (L'action nationale, XXIX (4), avril, 1947, 285-94). A general discussion of colonization in relation to French Canada.

SÁNTHA, PAL. *Kanada magyarsága* (*The Canadian Hungarian community.*) Winnipeg: Canadian Hungarian News Press. 1946. Pp. 31.

(4) Geography

KIRK, D. W. *Settlement pattern of the Listowel region, southwestern Ontario* (Economic geography, XXIII (1), Jan., 1947, 67-71). Points out the historical factors from which the expansion and survival of a community in the Listowel region has resulted.

(5) Transportation and Communication

FISHER, CLAUDE L. *The saga of the C.P.R.* (Empire digest, IV (8), June, 1947, 45-54).

LLOYD, TREVOR. *Arctic air transport* (Air affairs, I (2), Dec., 1946, 218-32). "Most of the problems that the pioneers of Arctic flying in the 1920's struggled to overcome have been solved. Trans-polar flying is no longer a problem of aeronautics for it has been dropped in the laps of the statesmen."

VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

BERNIER, ALFRED. *1885-1945: Les dates mémorables du Collège de Saint-Boniface.* Saint-Boniface, Man.: Collège de Saint-Boniface. 1945. Pp. 78.

KIRKCONNELL, WATSON and WOODHOUSE, A. S. P. *The humanities in Canada.* Ottawa: Humanities Research Council of Canada, 166 Marlborough Ave. 1947. Pp. 287. (\$2.00)

MACNAUGHTON, KATHERINE F. C. *The development of the theory and practice of education in New Brunswick 1784-1900: A study in historical background.* Edited with an introduction by ALFRED G. BAILEY. With a foreword by MILTON F. GREGG. (University of New Brunswick Historical studies no. 1.) Fredericton: University of New Brunswick. 1947. Pp. xviii, 268. To be reviewed later.

PERCIVAL, W. P. *Across the years: A century of education in the province of Quebec.* Montreal: Gazette Printing Company. 1946. Pp. xviii, 195. The author is Deputy Minister and Director of Protestant Education for the Province of Quebec. He announces that "the publication of this volume has been undertaken as part of the programme planned for the celebration of the centenary" of the Education Act of 1816. Two or three hundred excellent photographs of classes and buildings contrasted with quotations from archives remind one of the immense material progress of the last hundred years, while lists of founders, of holders of important posts, and winners of certain awards memorialize those who shared in the advance. Those concerned with the Protestant schools of Quebec may well wish to possess this volume. [J. H. BIGGAR]

SISSONS, C. B. *Beginnings* (The school, XXXV (9), June, 1947, 663-8, 734, 736, 738). A historical sketch of the origins of the Normal School in Toronto which was opened in November, 1847.

STAVELOT, JEAN DE. *L'introduction du baccalauréat français au Canada.* Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1946. Pp. 111. A protest against the introduction of the French baccalaureate programme into Canada on the grounds that it endangers Catholic teaching. The author is primarily concerned with the subject of philosophy. He says that this introduction means the bringing in of "an academic system against which the most enlightened Catholics of France are fighting with courage and tenacity." [R. M. SAUNDERS]

VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BÉCHARD, HENRI. *J'ai cent ans : L'église Saint-François-Xavier de Caughnawaga*. Montréal: Le Messager canadien. 1946. Pp. 80. (50c.)

HARRIS, J. R. *High Park Avenue United Church, Toronto, Ontario: Sixtieth anniversary 1885-1945*. Toronto: The Church, 248 High Park Ave. 1945. Pp. 16.

LESAGE, P. GERMAIN. *Capitale d'une solitude*. Ottawa: Éditions des Études Oblates. 1946. Pp. 191. The capital referred to in the title of this book is l'Île-à-la-Crosse in northwestern Saskatchewan, in the Roman Catholic diocese of Keewatin. The first mission was established here in 1846 by Father Taché, and M. Lafèche, a secular priest. It thus became the "Mission-mère" of the Oblate Indian missions, and has since developed into a major centre of evangelization by the Oblate Order. This volume has been prepared in honour of the centenary of the establishment of the mission. It is based upon the journals kept at l'Île-à-la-Crosse, and is the first attempt to write the history of a particular Oblate mission station. Two maps of the district, and a brief bibliography accompany the narrative. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

MARIE-EMMANUEL, Soeur. *Marie de l'Incarnation d'après ses lettres*. Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université. 1946. Pp. 337.

PARKER, S. C. *Yet not consumed: A short account of the history and antecedents of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*. Toronto: Thorn Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 198. (\$1.50)

SKELTON, ISABEL. *A man austere: William Bell: Parson and pioneer*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1947. Pp. xxvi, 337. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

IX. GENEALOGY

GRÉGOIRE, JEANNE. *Généalogie des Deblois-Grégoire*. Montréal: L'auteur, c/o La Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française. 1946. Pp. 48. (\$1.00)

ROY, LÉON. *Les (le) Meneux-dit-Châteauneuf* (B.R.H., LIII (5), mai, 1947, 149-58; LIII (6), juin, 1947, 187-92).

R[OY], P. G. *La famille LeGardeur de Tilly* (B.R.H., LIII (4), avril, 1947, 99-123; LIII (5), mai, 1947, 133-46).

X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

BLACKWELL, HENRY. *A bibliography of Welsh Americana*. (National Library of Wales journal, supplement, series III, no. 1.) 1942. (5s.)

MICHAUD, MARGUERITE. *L'Acadie dans la littérature* (L'action nationale, XXIX (4), avril, 1947, 273-84). A bibliographical article on Acadia and the Acadians.

MORSE, WILLIAM INGLIS (ed.). *The Canadian collection at Harvard University*. (Bulletin IV.) Cambridge: Harvard University Printing Office. 1947. Pp. 110.

Reading in Toronto 1946: Being the sixty-third annual report of the Toronto Public Library Board for the year 1946. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1947. Pp. 51.

University of Toronto Library, Circulation Department. *Canadian periodical index 1944*. Toronto: Ontario Department of Education. 1945. Pp. 134. (\$1.00)

XI. ART AND LITERATURE

ANDERSON, PATRICK. *A poet and painting* (Canadian art, IV (3), May, 1947, 104-6). The author believes that a closer relation between practitioners of various arts would help to make Canadian life more stimulating and would perhaps lead to a less mystical art criticism and a concerted attack on the greatest enemy of all, the false commercial values of film and radio.

- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Alouette: Nouveau recueil de chansons populaires avec mélodies, choisies dans le répertoire du Musée National du Canada.* (Collection Humanitas; Publiée sous le patronage de la Faculté des Lettres Université de Montréal.) Montréal: Éditions Lumen. 1946. Pp.217. A collection of some of the better-known French-Canadian folk songs. The theme of each song is given in musical notation, followed by the words, an analytical commentary, and a list of known versions. The collection would have been far more satisfactory for general use had the volume been of normal sheet music size, and had piano accompaniments been included with the themes. Much more could have been made of the history of these interesting songs. As an example of what can be done along this line one should see *A Treasury of American Song*, by Olin Downes and Elie Siegmeister (New York, 1940). [R. M. SAUNDERS]
- BARBEAU, MARIUS, LISMER, ARTHUR, and BOURINOT, ARTHUR. *Come a singing! Canadian folk-songs.* (National Museum of Canada; Bulletin no. 107; Anthropological series no. 26.) Ottawa: Department of Mines and Resources. 1947. Pp. vi, 59. (25c.)
- BIRNEY, EARLE. *The poetry of Robert Finch* (Canadian poetry magazine, X (3), Mar., 1947, 6-8). "His formal achievement is rare enough to earn comparison with the best verse being written in the English language today."
- BLAIS, JEAN-E. *Introduction à la poésie de François Hertel* (L'action nationale, XXIX (5), mai, 1947, 332-46).
- BOUCHER, MAXIMILIEN. *Marius Plamondon: Sculpteur et verrier* (Carnets viatoriens, XII^e année, janv., 1947, 33-42). Description of the work of this French-Canadian sculptor.
- BRIGDEN, F. H. *The Ontario Society of Artists: 75th anniversary 1872-1947* (Canadian review of music and art, VI (1, 2), Feb.-Mar., 1947, 29-32). Notes on the history of the Ontario Society of Artists.
- CORRIVEAU, L. DE B. *Canadian unity through the arts* (Canadian review of music and art, VI (1, 2), Feb.-Mar., 1947, 13-14).
- DEACON, W. A. *Many hands make more labor* (Canadian author and bookman, XXIII (1), spring, 1947, 5-8). Describes the activities of the Canadian Authors Association.
- DUNCAN, DOROTHY. *Le triomphe de Gabrielle* (Maclean's magazine, LX (8), Apr. 15, 1947, 23, 51, 54). A feature article on Gabrielle Roy, author of the well-known novel, *The Tin Flute*.
- DUVAL, PAUL. *Canadian art—a new trend* (Empire digest, IV (8), June, 1947, 88-93). Canadian artists are now beginning to survey the character of the Canadian "face" as their predecessors explored the contours of the Canadian earth.
- FISH, A. H. *Dr. William Henry Drummond, 1854-1907* (Calgary Associate Clinic, historical bulletin, XII (1), May, 1947, 1-8). "One can accept Drummond's work for what it was—good-humored, always kindly, truthful and utterly sincere—little portraits, little dramas of *le vieux temps*."
- GAGNÉ, LUCIEN. *Charles Gill* (L'action nationale, XXIX (5), mai, 1947, 361-85). Though Charles Gill, a French-Canadian poet, "n'a pas en le temps de nous donner la mesure de son talent . . . il a le culte des beaux vers, à la mode parnassienne."
- GUSTAFSON, RALPH. *Among the millet* (Northern review, I (5), Feb.-Mar., 1947, 26-34). A critical appraisal of the poetry of Archibald Lampman.
- HUTCHINGS, C. L. *Hallam goes after character* (Canadian review of music and art, VI (1, 2), Feb.-Mar., 1947, 19-23). A sketch of the painting of this Canadian

artist whose canvas, "Saturday Matinee," won the 1947 J. W. L. Forster award in the 75th annual exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists.

KEY, A. F. *The Calgary art centre* (Canadian art, IV (3), May, 1947, 122-3). Describes Calgary's latest venture in the arts—the opening of an Allied Arts Centre.

MECREDY, H. G. *Analyzing the Canadian cultural position* (Culture, VIII (2), juin, 1947, 184-7). English-speaking Canada has but to put out her hand and help herself to what is best in three cultures—the American, French-Canadian, and British.

NUTE, GRACE LEE. *Voyageurs' artist* (The beaver, outfit 278, June, 1947, 32-6). Frances Ann Hopkins, a nineteenth-century artist of rare ability, has preserved the voyageur and his habitat beautifully and accurately.

Ontario Society of Artists. *75th annual spring exhibition including a retrospective group of paintings selected from works exhibited during the first 50 years of the Society's history*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1947. Pp. 52. (Paper boards, \$1.00; limp paper, 60c.)

SYLVESTRE, GUY. *L'année littéraire 1946* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XVII (1), janv.-fév., 1947, 100-9). Résumé of French-Canadian writing in 1946.

TRAQUAIR, RAMSAY. *The old architecture of Quebec: A study of the buildings erected in New France from the earliest explorers to the middle of the nineteenth century*. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1947. Pp. xx, 324. (\$10.00) To be reviewed later.

WELLS, HENRY W. and KLINCK, CARL F. *Edwin J. Pratt: The man and his poetry*. Foreword by J. B. BREBNER. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 197. (\$2.50) This interesting and useful volume on one of Canada's foremost poets contains a biographical section by Mr. Klinck and an interpretative section by Mr. Wells.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ACTIVITIES OF THE HISTORICAL SECTIONS OF THE ARMED SERVICES

Canadian Army Historical Section. After the end of hostilities in 1945, it was arranged, with a view to making the speediest possible progress with the Official History of the Canadian Army, to keep a small group of officers of the Historical Section of the General Staff at work in London, England, and to retain there temporarily for their use a proportion of the records of the Canadian Army Overseas. Work on the history has now progressed to the point where the detachment in London can be withdrawn and the remaining records brought back to Ottawa. This is being done at the end of September. Lieutenant Colonel G. W. L. Nicholson, who has been in charge in London, is returning to Ottawa, where he will be Assistant to the Director of the Historical Section (Colonel C. P. Stacey).

As there are still many matters on which contact with British historians and consultation of British records are vital, one officer of the Historical Section is being stationed in London for liaison duties and to write special studies on the basis of records available there. Major T. M. Hunter has been detailed for this work and will take up his appointment in London in September.

Thanks to the kindness of Queen's University, Lieutenant Colonel W. E. C. Harrison of the Queen's History Department, a war-time member of the Section, has been available to assist in the Section's work in London during the summer of 1947.

From the conclusion of the fighting in Europe to July 31, 1947, 506 packing cases and 208 parcels of historical records reached the Historical Section of the Army from overseas. The movement still continues. The number of monthly unit war diaries of the War of 1939-45 in the hands of the Section is approximately 132,000.

The Official Historical Sketch, the one-volume preliminary history of the Canadian Army in the late war, is in the final stages of revision and will be published within a few months.

Canadian Naval Historical Section. Of the professional historians who have taken part in the work of the Naval Historical Section, Dr. Donald Kerr has gone to Mount Allison University as head of the History Department. Mr. Arthur Pidgeon is now liaison officer, CBC International Service, Ottawa, and is submitting the work that he did in the Section to Oxford University as a doctoral dissertation. Mr. Jack Richardson has returned to the Public Archives where he is Chief of the Map Division and he is offering the results of his research in naval operations as a master's dissertation at McGill. Mr. David Spring and Mr. Maurice Careless are members of the History Department at the University of Toronto. Dr. Gilbert Tucker expects to complete the work of the Section by next spring.

The present state and prospects of the official naval history may be of interest to readers of the REVIEW. Volume I, which contains the story of the Naval Service to September, 1939, is now ready for the press. Volume II, which will cover Canadian naval activities during the Second World War, other than operations, is expected to be ready for publication by next January. These volumes will contain about 150,000 words each.

Volume III will be devoted to operations and operational policy in the recent war. Like the first two volumes, this one was envisaged as a definitive historical work. To complete it in that way, however, would take about two years more,

chiefly because the German naval records are only now available for use. It has accordingly been decided for the sake of economy to publish the third volume as a popular account. This will be based upon semi-final drafts which were prepared by the Naval Historical Section for the larger work, it will be written by a professional writer engaged for the purpose, and it should be completed in about a year's time.

Royal Canadian Air Force Historical Section. The Historical Section of the Royal Canadian Air Force has published through the Oxford University Press two volumes, *The RCAF Overseas: The First Four Years* and *The RCAF Overseas: The Fifth Year*, which give a running narrative of the operations of R.C.A.F. squadrons overseas to the end of August, 1944. The text of a third volume, covering the last months of the war, has now been completed and is ready for publication.

These volumes were not planned as official histories, but only as preliminary narratives pending the compilation of an official history which had been projected for production after the war. These plans have now been altered and an official history of the R.C.A.F. will not be produced.

The overseas branch of the Historical Section has stopped work; the personnel have been repatriated and the records shipped to Canada. Several hundred cases of historical documents have already been received and the final consignment is now in transit.

The records are being sorted and classified in the Historical Section at Ottawa as fully as is possible in the time that remains before the personnel are released at the end of September.

THE CANADIAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION AND THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

The second annual meeting of the Canadian Library Association was held at the University of British Columbia on June 21-6 last, with an attendance representing every province and a very well-organized programme. Since its organization in 1946 the Association has made very marked progress. In particular it has taken the lead in pressing for the establishment of a national library. Representatives of a number of organizations which had shown an interest in the subject were consulted, and after a great deal of care a brief was prepared and presented by a small deputation to the Honourable Mr. Gibson, the secretary of state, the Canadian Historical Association being represented on the deputation by Professor G. W. Brown of the University of Toronto. Mr. Gibson displayed a keen interest in the matter and assured the deputation that the question would be seriously studied by the government. This was the first occasion on which the subject of a national library has been presented directly to a cabinet minister. It should be noted that the brief did not in the first instance ask for a large expenditure or the immediate erection of a building. Rather it asked (a) that the government explore the whole question and through a committee or some other suitable agency have recommendations and plans brought forward; (b) that, meanwhile, much needed library services which can only be performed by a national library should be instituted without delay and through the appointment of a small professionally-trained staff. This very practical approach to what is a large and complicated problem would be the one most likely to gain the best results. That a national library service is needed urgently there cannot be the slightest doubt. The requirements of scholarship, of practical affairs, and of Canada's international relations are all affected by it.

The active work in connexion with the brief was done by the president of the Association for 1946-7, Miss Freda F. Waldon, chief librarian of the Public Library of Hamilton, Ontario, and by the Association's executive-secretary, Miss Elizabeth Morton of Ottawa. Dr. Kaye Lamb of the University of British Columbia, the newly-elected president, may be relied on to continue the work. At the Association's request, President Norman MacKenzie of the University of British Columbia has undertaken to organize a representative committee to press for action. Copies of the brief or information may be obtained by writing the Association, 74 Stanley Ave., Ottawa, Ontario.

ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARCHIVISTS
AND THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

The customary joint meetings of the above two societies, with a registration of over one hundred, were held from September 3 to 7 at Glenwood Springs and Denver, Colorado. Although the greater part of the time was devoted to the reading of papers, the programme was varied, including an evening round a camp-fire, the showing of an excellent film, "The Story of Colorado," and on the last day the members were the guests of the State Historical Society on a historic mountain tour to the site of the Pike's Peak gold-rush.

The subjects of the papers on the first two days were devoted to archives, particularly archives in the international scene: UNRRA Archives, the Archives of the United Nations, the proposed International Council of Archivists, and a proposed archives programme for UNESCO. It is of interest to Canadians to note that the luncheon address, "Archives in Canada," delivered by the Archivist of Saskatchewan, Professor G. W. Simpson, was received with many expressions of interest and aroused much favourable comment. The latter part of the programme was devoted to subjects of interest to all concerned with state and local historical societies. A paper was also read on the proposal to issue a union catalogue of historical manuscripts. It was suggested that such a catalogue should include manuscripts in Canada.

One or two general comments on the meetings as they appeared to a Canadian may be made. In the first place, it is surprising to note the youth of a large number of the delegates in attendance. In the United States young history graduates are encouraged to devote themselves to local history and are given an opportunity to use their talents. Secondly, one discovers the comparative strength of historical societies in the United States: in their membership, which is numbered in the thousands, and in their annual budgets, reckoned in the tens of thousands. Much of this financial strength is due to enlightened state support, by means of which well-qualified men can be appointed as state historians, with adequate staffs. Lastly, it is obvious that many university history departments support local history in many ways: by providing articles and, in particular, by encouraging graduate students to work in this field. It is to be hoped that the enthusiasm for the study of local history which is so evident south of the border will extend its influence into the provinces of Canada.

Changes in the Councils for 1947-8 are: Society of American Archivists: president, Christopher Crittenden; vice-president, H. O. Brayer; managing editor, Miss M. C. Norton; additional members of the Council, K. L. Trevor, O. W. Holmes; American Association for State and Local History: additional members of the Council, L. J. Cappon (re-elected), G. W. Spragge.

PERSONAL ITEMS

Further items for inclusion under this heading will be welcome.

Alfred G. Bailey, Professor and Head of the Department of History in the University of New Brunswick was appointed in 1946 Dean of Arts and Honorary Librarian of the University.

G  rard Bergeron of Laval University was awarded the 1947 fellowship of \$2,000 offered by the Dafoe Foundation for research and publication in some aspect of international affairs. Mr. Bergeron will conduct his research in Geneva.

George W. Brown of the Department of History of the University of Toronto was last year appointed Editor of the University of Toronto Press. He remains, however, a member of the Department of History, teaching half-time.

Miss Catherine L. Cleverdon has completed and is arranging for the publication of her Columbia University doctoral dissertation, "A History of Women's Suffrage in Canada."

Gerald S. Craig, formerly of the University of Minnesota, has been appointed Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Toronto.

David M. L. Farr, formerly of the Department of History of Dalhousie University, has been appointed Lecturer in history at Carleton College, Ottawa. Mr. Farr has also been appointed Assistant Secretary of the Canadian Historical Association.

Miss Frances Firth was appointed in 1945 Assistant in the Department of History of the University of New Brunswick and is engaged in archival administration.

G. S. French has been appointed Sessional Lecturer for 1947-8 in the Department of History of McMaster University.

James A. Gibson, formerly of the Department of External Affairs, has been appointed Associate Professor and Head of the Department of History of Carleton College, Ottawa.

Robert Gilmore has been appointed Sessional Lecturer for 1947-8 in the Department of History of the University of New Brunswick.

Marcel Giraud, Coll  ge de France, Paris, author of *Le M  tis Canadien* is spending the summer and early autumn in travel and study at various centres in the eastern and middle western United States and Canada as a guest of the Rockefeller Foundation.

R. Glover has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of History of the University of Manitoba.

Gerald S. Graham resigned from Queen's University in 1946 to accept a readership at Birkbeck College, University of London.

W. R. Graham has been appointed Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Saskatchewan.

J. A. Jackson has been appointed part-time archivist in the Provincial Library of Manitoba and will begin cataloguing the manuscripts in the library which include the Riel Papers, the papers of Thomas Greenway, Premier of Manitoba, 1888-9, the official papers of the lieutenant-governors, and many other items.

E. C. Kyte, Librarian, Queen's University since 1928 has retired and will be succeeded by H. Pearson Gundy, Director of Libraries, Mount Allison University.

T. H. LeDuc (M.A. Toronto) who taught at Sarah Lawrence College, 1946-7, will spend 1947-8 in research and writing on a fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Ronald S. Longley, Alumni Professor of History at Acadia University has been appointed Dean of Arts and Science in that University.

A. R. M. Lower has been appointed Professor in the Department of History of Queen's University.

L'abbé A. Maheux, Archivist of Laval University, was appointed during last session Head of the Department of History and Geography of Laval University.

E. W. McNinnis of the Department of History of the University of Toronto headed a delegation of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs to the conference of the Institute on Pacific Affairs, held at Stratford-on-Avon, England.

Harry MacLean has been appointed Assistant Professor of History at Acadia University, Wolfville, N.S.

K. W. K. McNaught has been appointed Lecturer in United College, University of Winnipeg.

Miss Katherine F. C. MacNaughton was the holder of research fellowships in the Department of History of the University of New Brunswick during the sessions 1943-4 and 1944-5. Her volume *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick 1784-1900* has been published by the University as Monograph no. 1 of the University of New Brunswick Historical Studies which are under the editorship and direction of Dr. A. G. Bailey. Miss MacNaughton has been awarded a Beaverbrook Overseas Research Scholarship for study in the University of London during 1947-8.

W. Stewart McNutt was appointed in 1946 Assistant Professor in the Department of History of the University of New Brunswick.

Donald A. Mitton has been appointed to the staff of Brandon College, Manitoba.

J. H. S. Reid, formerly Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Toronto, has been appointed Professor of History at United College, University of Manitoba.

B. E. Shore has been appointed Lecturer in Russian Studies at the University of Toronto and is teaching a course in recent Russian history in the Department of History.

W. E. L. Smith has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of History of Queen's University.

D. S. Traill who has been on the staff of Brandon College, Manitoba has accepted an appointment at the University of Delaware, Newark, U.S.A.

Chilton Williamson, Barnard College, Columbia University, has completed his study of the domestic and international affairs of Vermont between the conquest of Canada and the building of the Champlain Canal. It will be published by the Vermont Historical Society under the title *Vermont in Quandary, 1760-1820*.

J. O. Woodhouse of the City Hall, Toronto has been appointed Secretary-Archivist. His duties will include the preservation of the municipal records and directing visitors to the city's historic sites.

HENRY BOUQUET PAPERS

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has authorized the printing of the papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet, Swiss-born commander of British forces in Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War and the Pontiac War. Two or three volumes will be issued during the 1947-9 biennium. S. K. Stevens, state historian, Donald H. Kent, associate historian, and Mrs. Autumn L. Leonard, editorial assistant, will be the editors as in the earlier mimeographed edition. The material now available in transcript form includes the Bouquet Papers proper from the British Museum (copies from the Library of Congress photostats or from microfilm copies purchased by the Commission); Bouquet letters from the Abercrombie and Loudoun Papers in the Huntington Library and from the Gage Papers in the Clements Library; and Bouquet letters printed in various collections. It is believed that this virtually exhausts the possibilities. On the other hand, there may be single Bouquet letters in other manuscript collections which have not been found. Anyone who has any information or suggestions concerning the location of Bouquet material will please write to S. K. Stevens, state historian, State Museum Building, Harrisburg, Penn.

CONTINGENT OF THE CANADIAN OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS
MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

This fellowship has been established as a memorial of the former officers, non-commissioned officers, and cadets of the University of Western Ontario Contingent of the Canadian Officers' Training Corps who died in the service of the British Commonwealth and its Allies during the Second World War. The fellowship of \$800 will be awarded for military study at the University of Western Ontario in history, geography, or economics. Consideration will be given only to those applications which are made by graduates living in Canada who are qualified to proceed to a master's degree. Inquiries for additional information should be addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Stiling, University of Western Ontario Contingent COTC, London, Ontario.

CANADIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL BOOK BURSARIES

The Canadian Social Science Research Council announces that it is continuing its grant of book bursaries for another year. Under this arrangement books to the value of approximately \$100 may be given to deserving scholars whose library facilities are inadequate. The arrangement was originally made to aid and encourage scholars in the smaller institutions, who found that the library resources upon which they could draw were not sufficient to enable them to keep abreast of current work in their fields of teaching, or to go on with the background reading of their fields of research, and who did not receive incomes sufficient to enable them to make many book purchases themselves. Persons desiring to apply for a book bursary must be in a recognized field of social science and they should apply to the secretary, Dr. John E. Robbins, 166 Marlborough Ave., Ottawa, for a blank application form, to be returned to him when completed. Applicants make out their own list of books, together with sufficient bibliographical details to enable purchases to be made.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

The Humanities in Canada by Watson Kirkconnell and A. S. P. Woodhouse (Ottawa, Humanities Research Council of Canada, 166 Marlborough Ave., 1947, pp. 287, \$2.00). This survey of the position of the humanities in Canadian education has particular reference to the university and college level. However, there is a chapter by Professor J. F. Leddy of the University of Saskatchewan on "The Place of Humanities in Secondary Education," and secondary schools have been considered in so far as their organizations and ideals may condition the possibilities of effective humanistic study in the universities. Both the factual findings of the survey and the authors' comments, suggestions, and programme of objectives for the humanities in Canada should prove of interest to all engaged in the educational field.

Canada 1947: The Official Handbook of Present Conditions and Recent Progress (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1947, pp. 264). Most teachers are probably familiar with that bulky reference work, *The Canada Year Book*; the smaller, less expensive series of "Canada" handbooks may not be so well known. They are publications of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and are designed to present a brief and attractive record of the general economic and social structure of Canada, the emphasis being placed from year to year on those aspects of most current importance. Illustrations are copiously used and the material is presented under numerous headings for easy reference. The current issue contains special articles on the "Pulp and Paper Industry in Canada" and "Canada's Place in the British Commonwealth of Nations" as well as the regular sections on population, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, water power, mines and minerals, manufactures, trade, labour, welfare services, and banking.

Edwin J. Pratt: The Man and His Poetry by Henry W. Wells and Carl F. Klinck (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1947, pp. viii, 197, \$2.50). This is another volume in the Ryerson Press's "Canadian Men of Letters" series and maintains the high level of literary criticism inaugurated with the previous books of the series. It should prove of interest to teachers both for personal and classroom use. Dr. Klinck, Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Waterloo College, Ontario, gives an imaginative and informative account of Dr. Pratt's life and his method of writing, and Dr. Wells of Columbia University examines and appraises his poetry and places it beside other archetypes of our literary tradition. For those who have long known Dr. Pratt's poetry, this book will be a welcome accompaniment to it; and for those who have not yet made his acquaintance, it will provide an admirable introduction.

Rights and Liberties in Our Time: Addresses Given at the Canadian Institute on Public Affairs, 1946 edited by Martyn Estall (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1947, pp. viii, 108, \$1.25). As indicated in the title, these are the addresses which were given at the 1946 conference of the Canadian Institute on Public Affairs. The Institute, which is located at 21 Dundas Square, Toronto, is an educational body open to all for the critical discussion of national and international questions; it meets yearly in August at Geneva Park, Lake Couchiching, Ontario. The papers contained in this issue are: "Problems of World Security" by J. King Gordon; "The United Nations" by E. N. Van Kleffens; "International Trusteeship and Accountability" by Ralph J. Bunche; "National Unity" by Adélaide Godbout; "Dominion-Provincial Relations" by Wilfrid Eggleston; "Canada's Housing Policies" by Humphrey Carver; "Penal Reform" by J. Alex Edmison; "Immigration and Refugees" by R. G. Riddell; "Civil Liberties" by B. K. Sandwell.

"Les Cahiers Reflets" (Montreal, Compagnie des Publications Provinciales). *La Guerre et l'amour au Canada d'autrefois* by Robert de Roquebrune (vol. I, no. 6); *Sir Wilfrid Laurier, précurseur de l'entente cordiale* by René Ristelhueber (vol. I, no. 7); *Chronique Louisianaise, d'après le "Journal" de Penicaut* by Roger Picard (vol. I, no. 8); *La Paix, problème national* by Gustave Lamarche (vol. I, no. 10). These are a series of brochures to which one may subscribe annually. The above four numbers are examples of the sort of material that appears in them. They are popular in treatment, and deal with historical subjects, and contemporary problems. All shades of French-Canadian opinion are reflected in their pages. They are written by well-known authors, and might serve as supplementary reading in French classes, or in Canadian history and social science classes. All communications about the series should be directed to: 891, rue Sainte-Angèle, Trois-Rivières, P.Q.

Come a Singing! Canadian Folk-Songs by Marius Barbeau, Arthur Lismer, and Arthur Bourinot (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1947, pp. 59, 25c.). This booklet, published by the Department of Mines and Resources as a bulletin of the National Museum of Canada, and designed for practical use, should be of interest to music teachers. The words and music of thirty Canadian folk-songs are reproduced with accompanying black and white line illustrations.

ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice. The latest manuscript acquisition is 150 files of documents, mainly photographic and biographical, coming from the collection of the late Gordon Smith, newspaper man from Montreal. These papers are not yet classified or catalogued. Librarian, Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, 1700, rue Saint-Denis, Montreal.

Barrie Museum. The Museum maintained in Barrie by the Women's Institutes of Simcoe County has received two interesting donations: a slate used by Thomas Soule of Big Bay Point who died in 1840 at the age of seven, and a straw splitter used for splitting straw for plaiting into hats.

The New Brunswick Museum has published its annual report for 1946. Among additions to the Webster Canadiana Library were *A Voyage to Hudson Bay in the Summer of 1812* by Thomas M'Keever; *The Shipwreck of the Transport Premier near the Mouth of the St. Lawrence on the 4th of November 1845* by G. R. Darnell; and *The History and Genealogical Record of the First Settlers of Colchester County* by Thomas Miller (1875). Typescript and photostat copies of manuscript source material and copies of early newspapers have also been added to the Library. The Archives have received copies of the letters written by George Skiffington Grimmer to his sister Caroline between 1845-50 which throw side-lights on provincial life of the period. The various departments of the Museum continue to carry on their work, and information was supplied to many persons who made inquiries personally and by mail. President, J. C. Webster; vice-presidents, H. P. Robinson, M. F. Gregg; treasurer, G. G. Murdoch.

The Oxford Museum in Woodstock, Ontario will be opened officially some time during the month of September, 1947. Among its plans are the marking of historic sites, co-operation in adult education, and exhibitions of art, and museum collections. The primary purpose of the Museum is the permanent display of pioneer material, nature and science exhibits, and products of agriculture and industry of the Woodstock area. The charter members are: President and director, Ross

Butler; curator, Miss Louise Hill; assistant curator, Miss Effie Nesbitt; vice-president, Craig McKay. Address: Oxford Museum, City Hall, Woodstock, Ont.

The William L. Clements Library has published a small booklet entitled *Congregationalism in America: Its Beginnings as Illustrated by an Exhibition of its Foundational Books in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan* which contains items of general North American interest.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B.C. has published a small booklet on *Fort Langley, 1827-1927: A Century of Settlement in the Valley of the Lower Fraser River* by Denys Nelson.

Brant Historical Society. A recent project which the Society carried out was the sending of "First Day Covers" bearing the Bell stamp marking the centennial of the birth of Alexander Graham Bell to museums and people of note in every capital city of the British Empire. Many interesting replies have been received. A large number of articles have been donated to the Brant Museum during the past year. President, Harold W. Hill; secretary, Mrs. G. F. Willoughby.

British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria Section. At the meetings held during 1947, the following papers were presented: "The New Northwest Passage" by Major General W. W. Foster; "Canada's Arctic Islands" by Major David L. McKeand; "Sunrise without Sunset" by the Reverend William Hills; and "Queen Charlotte Islands and the Haida Indians in 1946" by A. M. D. Fairbairn.

Cape Sable Historical Society. Sarah H. Richan of the Society has prepared a genealogical work entitled *The Book of Richan* (Barrington and Yarmouth, 1936). Corresponding-secretary, Sarah H. Richan, Barrington Passage, N.S.

The Eastern Townships Historical Society, after a period of inactivity, resumed its meetings in February, 1946. The following papers have been read before the Society: "Causerie sur les origines de Richmond" by l'abbé Maurice O'Breadye; "Joseph Savage, Pioneer of Shefford County" by Miss M. O. Vaudry; "Histoire de la paroisse de Wotton" by R. Morel; "Les Cantons de l'Est" by A. DesRochers. President, l'abbé A. Gravel; secretary, l'abbé Maurice O'Bready, Sherbrooke, P.Q.; treasurer, G. Genest.

The Kent Historical Society. Dr. James J. Talman of the University of Western Ontario addressed a meeting of the Kent Historical Society held on April 11, 1947. He spoke on "Local History is Worth Studying." The Society has had bequeathed to it some interesting relics connected with the remarkable career of the Reverend Josiah Henson, the original "Uncle Tom." President, J. F. Fletcher; secretary, E. M. Milner, 208 William St., Chatham, Ont.

The Lundy's Lane Historical Society held its sixtieth anniversary dinner on June 20, 1947 with an attendance of over eighty members and their friends. Mr. Ernest Green gave a comprehensive and interesting review of the work of the Society since its organization in June, 1887, which included the erection of monuments, publications, and the fostering of an interest in local history generally. During his address Mr. Green called on the present secretary, Mrs. S. C. Tolan, to read the minutes of the first meeting. The guest speaker, Mr. Louis Blake Duff, gave a timely address on "Peace," referring particularly to the unguarded frontier between the United States and Canada. President, the Reverend P. Mayes; secretary, Mrs. S. C. Tolan, 1775 Brookfield Ave., Niagara Falls, Ont.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has published the fifth volume of the Winthrop Papers. This Society is the oldest historical society in the United States, having been founded in 1791, and specializes in material relating to New England before 1800. Address: The Society, 1154 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

The Royal Society of Canada. The officers for 1947-8 are as follows: President, W. P. Thompson; vice-president, Gustave Lanctot; honorary secretaries, F. J. Alcock, Séraphin Marion; assistant secretary-treasurer, Theresa Pereira, National Research Building, Ottawa; honorary treasurer, H. C. Cooke; honorary editor, G. W. Brown.

La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Sudbury. At the meetings of the Society during 1946-7 papers were read on the following subjects: "Moeurs et coutumes d'autrefois" by Mrs. Aimé Pilon; "Jean Nicolet" by the Reverend F. Gérard Hébert, S.J.; "Vie française à Toronto" by Mrs. Gérard Godin; "Droits du français en Ontario" by Judge J. A. S. Plouffe; "Evolution de l'art musical à Sudbury" by Mrs. Bernard Murphy; "Origines de Blind River" by Miss Jacqueline Savard; "Vie religieuse de Blind River" by Mr. Charles Béland; "L'Industrie papetière à Blind River" by Mr. Robert Lynch; and "Archives du Collège du Sacré-Coeur" by the Reverend F. L. Cadieux, S.J. Numbers 11, 12 and 13 of "Documents historiques" have been published. President, J. A. S. Plouffe; director, the Reverend F. Lorenzo Cadieux, S.J.; secretary, the Reverend F. G. Hébert, S.J.; treasurer, Ernest Marcotte.

La Société d'Histoire Régionale de Québec. The following papers were read during 1946 and 1947: "Sur les Pas de Louis Jolliet: Récit d'un voyage dans le Golfe Saint-Laurent" by R. P. Adrien Pouliot; "La Maison Louis Jolliet à Québec" by M. l'abbé Honorius Provost; "Le Fort et la Château St-Louis" by M. Georges-Henri Dagneau; "Le terrain d'Ailleboust" by M. l'abbé H. Provost; "Spencer Wood" by M. Paul-André Lamontagne; "Saint-Romuald" by R. F. Achille, F.I.C.; and "Tadoussac: Un centenaire" by R. P. Adrien Pouliot. President, Honorable Cyrille-F. Delâge; secretary, l'abbé Paul-Emile Gosselin.

The Thunder Bay Historical Society. The most interesting acquisition of the past year was an axe and a rifle discovered at the bottom of Steep Rock Lake and presented to the Fort William Museum by S. Hancock. The axe is double bitted with a short handle and the rifle is a flintlock. No date has been established as to the approximate time they were used. A past president of the Society, Mr. J. P. Bertrand, is writing a book on the timber business and its history in the Fort William district. President, Erle Smith; secretary, Keith Denis.

The Waterloo Historical Society had published its thirty-fourth annual report for 1946. This issue contains articles on "Pioneer Days, East River Road, North Dumfries" by A. W. Taylor; "The Beauty of Waterloo County" by E. Cleghorn; "Reminiscences, West Montrose Church" by C. D. Bowman; "West Montrose and District" by A. W. Devitt; and "Pioneer Settlements, Southwest Wilmot" by A. R. G. Smith. President, Miss B. M. Dunham; vice-president, Ward Woolner; secretary-treasurer, P. Fisher.

The York Pioneer and Historical Society has published its report for 1946. Among the various addresses presented at meetings during the year were an account of the origin and accomplishment of the Order of St. John the Divine by Sister Audrey, the early history of the Bell Telephone Company in York County by George Long, the Toronto Normal School and the progress of education by George Spragge, a history of the Baker family, pioneers of Vaughan Township by

G. E. Reaman, a description of the Toronto portage by W. W. M. Pope, and a short account of the Moravians by J. R. McNichol. Chairman, John Winnett; president, T. P. Grubbe; honorary treasurer, H. A. Knowles; secretary, Mrs. Walter Smith, 43 Glendonwynne Rd., Toronto 9.

The York-Sunbury Historical Society has been associated with the publication of *Epitaphs of the Old Graveyard* (1942), *The History of Central New Brunswick*, and *The River St. John and Its Poets* all by Dr. Lilian B. Maxwell. Recently it has acquired eight life-size photographs of New Brunswick's fathers of confederation, a stamp album believed to have belonged to Bliss Carman, and hundreds of other books, pictures, military relics, Indian artefacts, historical papers, and early government reports. Recording secretary, G. A. Good, 242 Regent St., Fredericton, N.B.

